

**KARL
MARX
FREDERICK
ENGELS**

**Collected
Works**



**Volume 4
Marx and Engels
1844-1845**

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Preface

The fourth volume of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels includes their works written from the time when their close friendship was first established (late August-early September 1844) to the autumn of 1845. Beginning with the present volume, works of both Marx and Engels will be published in this edition in the chronological order in which they were written.

The meeting of Marx and Engels in Paris in August 1844 inaugurated their lifelong partnership. Each of them had independently traversed a difficult path of intellectual development from idealism to materialism, from revolutionary democracy to communism. By the time they met in Paris each was a convinced revolutionary and Communist. With this shared standpoint, their work, while preserving the individual features of each, developed thereafter in a spirit of the unbreakable unity of two thinkers. At the same time, their creative co-operation opened up immediately a new stage in the development of their views. Not only did they go on to achieve, during the year that followed their meeting, greater concreteness in the dialectical and materialist principles both had advanced in their works of 1843 and 1844, but they broadened the whole range of their ideas and set themselves and tackled new problems of elaborating the theoretical foundations of the revolutionary world outlook of the proletariat.

Marx and Engels continued their study of existing philosophical, economic and socialist ideas, and their painstaking research into the actual social-economic reality and the working-class movement of the time. They maintained close contacts with democratic and socialist circles in Germany, France, Belgium and other countries,

with representatives of the Chartist movement in England, and with members of the League of the Just. And all this increasingly convinced them that the practice of revolutionary struggle demanded profound and comprehensive theoretical work, the creation of an entirely new and self-consistent theory which would be of relevance in all the basic fields of human knowledge. It was to the fulfilment of this task that Marx and Engels together directed their efforts. They sought not only to establish the scientific basis for communism, but to spread communist ideas among the working class and revolutionary intellectuals of Europe. For them, the new revolutionary theory could be consolidated only in struggle against the various non-proletarian trends which had taken shape by that time, and by dissociating itself from them.

A primary task in the autumn of 1844 was to deal with the Young Hegelians, who had given up their former radical convictions and swung to the Right. Indeed, a campaign against socialism and communism was being mounted by the monthly *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, edited by the Bauer brothers.

What Marx had had to say in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* about the proletariat's historical mission was declared "uncritical", and working people written off as an inert and passive "mass", a hindrance to social progress. The Bauer brothers and their fellow-thinkers announced that the sole active element in the world-historical process was their own theoretical activity, to which they gave the name of "Critical Criticism".

Marx had first expressed his intention to come out against the philosophical views of the Young Hegelians in 1843, in his articles *Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law. Introduction* and *On the Jewish Question* (see present edition, Vol. 3). And he returned to the idea in the summer of 1844, among other occasions in his conversations with Engels in Paris. The outcome was the decision by Marx and Engels to write a book together against the Young Hegelians. "A war has been declared," Engels wrote sometime later, "against those of the German philosophers, who refuse to draw from their mere theories practical inferences, and who contend that man has nothing to do but to speculate upon metaphysical questions" (see p. 240 of this volume).

This fourth volume of the *Collected Works* begins with the first joint work of Marx and Engels, *The Holy Family, or Critique of Critical Criticism. Against Bruno Bauer and Co.* Its idea and general plan were agreed upon by the two friends, but the major part of the text was in fact written by Marx. This work, mainly philosophical in content, occupies an important place in the formation of Marx's

and Engels' philosophical and social-political views. It attacks from a consistently materialist standpoint both the subjectivist views of the Young Hegelians and Hegel's idealist philosophical system as a whole, on which they had based them. At the same time, it demonstrates in sharp polemic that the subjective idealism of the Young Hegelians was a step backward in comparison with Hegel's philosophy.

Marx and Engels had already in previous works begun to work out the principles of the materialist conception of history. In *The Holy Family* these were further developed. A new step forward was made, particularly as compared with Marx's "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844", in clarifying the decisive role of material production in social development. Marx now saw in it the basis of the whole of mankind's historical progress. He wrote, in particular, that it was impossible to understand a single historical period "without knowing ... the industry of that period, the immediate mode of production of life itself" (see p. 150 of this volume).

Formulated in this work are very profound thoughts on the correspondence of the political system of a given society with the economic structure, their dialectical connection and mutual influence.

Closely connected with the exposition of the initial principles of the materialist conception of history is the clear statement in *The Holy Family* of the decisive role of the popular masses in historical development and the growth of this role as the development proceeds. Marx declared that mankind was facing the task of further profound social transformations, in the course of which "together with the thoroughness of the historical action, the size of the mass whose action it is will therefore increase" (see p. 82 of this volume).

In developing the idea of the world-historical role of the proletariat as the force destined to carry out the future socialist revolution, Marx shows in *The Holy Family* that this historical destiny of the working class is the inevitable result of its position in capitalist society. "The conditions of life of the proletariat," Marx writes, "sum up all the conditions of life of society today in their most inhuman form." The proletariat, as a class, by virtue of its historical existence "can and must emancipate itself" (see pp. 36-37 of this volume). Marx also declared that the social emancipation of the proletariat would mean the emancipation of the whole of society from exploitation. He therefore stressed the universal human significance, the genuinely humanistic meaning of the proletariat's

class struggle. Thus the basic Marxist idea of the leading role of the proletariat in the anti-capitalist revolutionary and liberation movement was formulated for the first time in *The Holy Family*. Lenin later described it as a work containing "Marx's view—already almost fully developed—concerning the revolutionary role of the proletariat" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 38, p. 26).

The Holy Family contains, moreover, Marx and Engels' materialist interpretation of the role of ideas in history. Analysing more deeply the conception of the transformation of theory into a material force which he had put forward in *A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law*, Marx showed how ideas become an effective force of social development when they correspond to the requirements of real life by expressing the interests of progressive classes. He demonstrated this by taking as an example the history of philosophy from the seventeenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Analysing the struggle of the two basic trends, materialism and idealism, he reveals the significance of materialism as the progressive philosophy in social life, particularly in its having created the ideological prerequisites for the French bourgeois revolution at the end of the eighteenth century; he points out the organic link between the development of materialist ideas and the achievements of the natural sciences, and emphasises that further creative development of materialist philosophical thought must inevitably lead to communist conclusions.

While building on the progressive philosophical traditions of the past, Marx and Engels by no means intended to stop at the achievements of previous materialism. *The Holy Family* reflects the endeavour to develop and re-interpret in a materialist way the rational element in Hegel's philosophy—its dialectics—and organically to unite dialectics which, on the whole, previous materialist philosophers lacked, with materialism. The creative development of dialectics, the dialectical approach to both social-economic and ideological phenomena, the study in social and intellectual processes of the operation of the basic objective laws of dialectics, especially the law of the unity and struggle of opposites—these run through the whole content of *The Holy Family*.

Although it marks so significant a stage accomplished in the creation of the theoretical foundation of the proletarian world outlook, *The Holy Family* nevertheless belongs to the period when Marxism was still in formation and when the basic principles of the materialist conception of history and of scientific communism had not yet been fully stated. Marx and Engels had not yet completely crossed the divide between themselves and their

ideological predecessors. In particular, they had not yet entirely and in all respects overcome the influence of the weaker aspects of Feuerbach's philosophy. It is true that in declaring themselves his followers, "real humanists", supporters of Feuerbach's "anthropological" materialism, Marx and Engels were actually coming out as revolutionary Communists and materialist dialecticians, and so filling his terminology with a new content. Their obvious dissatisfaction with the metaphysical character and inconsistency of all previous materialism soon developed, however, into an understanding of the fundamental difference between Feuerbach's speculative philosophy and the proletarian outlook that was taking shape. That is why, in April 1845, in his "Theses on Feuerbach", Marx came out so trenchantly against Feuerbachianism (these Theses, together with other works related to *The German Ideology*, will be included in the fifth volume of the present edition).

The fourth volume also contains Engels' fundamental work, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*. This was the fruit of his careful study of and theoretical generalisation from vast factual data drawn from official documents, from both bourgeois and working-class newspapers, and from special investigations made by economists, sociologists, historians, etc. But above all, the book reflects (and this lends it its particular authenticity) the results of Engels' own observation of the working and living conditions of the workers during his almost two years' stay in Manchester.

In substance, this work of Engels continues his previous articles devoted to studying capitalist development in England (see present edition, Vols. 2 and 3). In the scale of the problems it deals with and the depth and thoroughness with which they are clarified, it considerably surpasses, however, his previous writings. As regards the ideas informing it, this work is close to *The Holy Family*. It shows by the whole of its content that in working out their revolutionary theory the founders of Marxism based themselves on a scientific concrete sociological analysis of the existing reality.

The Condition of the Working-Class in England provides evidence that Engels arrived, at the same time as Marx, at an understanding of the role of the economic factor in social development, and that he made his own independent contribution to the materialist analysis of social phenomena. One of the central features of this work is his study of the social-economic consequences of the industrial revolution in England. Engels brought out the decisive influence of changes in social production on the condition of whole classes and the entire life of society. And he came to the

all-important conclusion that the industrial revolution in England had resulted in the formation of a new revolutionary class—the proletariat. The position of this class in modern capitalist society “is the real basis and point of departure of all social movements of the present because it is the highest and most unconcealed pinnacle of the social misery existing in our day” (see p. 302 of this volume).

Engels was able to deduce from the example of England, the most advanced country in the capitalist world at the time, the characteristic features of the capitalist system as a whole. He demonstrated the typical features of capitalist industrialisation, and its inevitable consequences—the ruin, and in England the almost complete disappearance, of the artisans and working peasantry, the pauperisation of the former small proprietors and the proletarianisation of a considerable part of the population. In what must rank as a classical characterisation, Engels drew his picture of the big towns as the offspring of capitalist industry, a focus of social evils, and at the same time as centres of the proletarian masses’ resistance to oppression and exploitation. And he vividly depicted phenomena inherent in capitalism—the anarchy of production, the periodic crises, the deepening of class antagonisms, and the formation and growth of a reserve army of labour, or in other words, chronic unemployment. Engels’ book is no specialist theoretical economic study, and yet it defines with deadly accuracy many aspects of the economic structure of capitalist society and its inherent laws and tendencies. Not without reason did Marx write later in the first volume of *Capital* that the author of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* “completely understood the nature of the capitalist mode of production”.

Engels’ masterly picture of the condition of the English proletariat is an unanswerable indictment of the capitalist system as it then existed. But this is not the distinguishing feature of his book, the one which sets it apart from all other socialist writings of the time. Many utopian Socialists or authors who merely sympathised with the working people had already vividly described their unfortunate condition. But they had shown the working class only as a suffering mass, not as a revolutionary force. The enduring significance of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* lies in the fact that, as Lenin noted, in it “Engels was the *first* to say that the proletariat is *not only* a suffering class; that it is, in fact, the disgraceful economic condition of the proletariat that drives it irresistibly forward and compels it to fight

for its ultimate emancipation. And the fighting proletariat *will help itself*" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 22).

As in Marx's works of this time, the world-historical revolutionary role of the working class is deduced in Engels' book from the social conditions in capitalist society and the proletarians' position in it. There was evident, Engels concludes, an inexorable tendency towards the sharpening of the contradictions inherent in capitalism, towards polarisation of the class forces, and the transformation of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie into the principal factor in the life of society. The social revolution to overthrow the existing system had become historically inevitable. The proletariat, the class in which "reposes the strength and the capacity of development of the nation" (see p. 529 of this volume), precisely by virtue of its position in capitalist society, has the historic mission of destroying it and accomplishing the socialist revolution.

For the first time in socialist literature, Engels systematically analysed the development of the proletariat's emancipation movement and showed the historical significance of this process, which, in the final account, will lead to the communist transformation of society. Engels demonstrated the regular and progressive character of the development of the working-class movement, the inevitability of the transition from primitive spontaneous forms of revolutionary protest to higher and more organised forms of struggle—from local and sporadic actions against individual employers to systematic resistance of the workers to the exploiters and to struggle against the capitalist system itself; from uniting the proletarian forces within the framework of separate trades to creating nationwide class organisations. He elucidated the role of strikes, and of the trade unions as schools of class struggle. At the same time, he stressed that only by taking the path of *political* struggle would the working class be able to deal the decisive blow against the rule of the capitalist class as a whole and achieve genuine emancipation. That was the reason he so much stressed and lavished such praise on the activity of the English Chartists, who transferred the struggle against the bourgeoisie to political ground and began a mass proletarian political movement. Engels saw in Chartism the concentrated form of working-class opposition to the bourgeoisie.

Yet Engels discerned at the same time the crucial weakness of the Chartist movement in its inability to understand the socialist aim of the working-class revolutionary struggle, which was reflected in a certain ideological narrow-mindedness on the part of

its leaders. The English working-class movement, he concluded, must find the way to acquire socialist consciousness. The need was to unite the Chartist movement with socialism—not with Robert Owen's utopian socialism, divorced as it was from genuine class struggle, but with militant proletarian socialism.

The Condition of the Working-Class in England nevertheless reflects to a certain extent the fact that the scientific outlook of the proletariat had not yet been completely shaped. Engels himself later regarded this book as a stage in the "embryonic" development of scientific socialism, when there were still visible "traces" of its descent from German classical philosophy. As an example of such immaturity, reflecting the influence of the abstract humanism of Feuerbach and of utopian socialism, he pointed to the proposition that the bourgeoisie itself had an interest in the social advantages of the communist system. Such delusions, especially in respect of the German bourgeoisie, which was often alleged to be far more disinterested than the English, are also apparent in other works by Engels belonging to the same period (see p. 230 of this volume). And as he himself later admitted in the Preface to the second German edition (1892), his idea that England was not far from a socialist revolution was also much too optimistic.

Alongside the two big works of Marx and Engels already named, this volume includes a group of their journalistic works, with manuscript outlines, and so on. Nearly all these works were written by Marx in Brussels, after he had been obliged to move there early in February 1845, when the French authorities closed down the Paris newspaper *Vorwärts!* and deported a number of its contributors and editors. Until the beginning of the revolution in Europe in 1848, Marx pursued his theoretical and political work in the Belgian capital. Engels wrote some of his journalistic works at the same time as *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*—during his stay in Barmen from September 1844 to April 1845. He continued to contribute reports on the state of the revolutionary movement and of communist propaganda on the Continent from Barmen to the Owenites' *New Moral World*. Another group of articles and reports by Engels, including his contributions to the Chartist newspaper *The Northern Star*, which he resumed in the autumn of 1845, were written in Brussels, where he stayed for a time from April 1845.

The content of the articles and reports written by Marx and Engels in this period corresponded to the tasks they set themselves in the two major works. They were all devoted to exposing the capitalist system, passionately defending the interests of the work-

ing class, spreading revolutionary communist ideas, and criticising ideological trends hostile to the communist movement.

The socialist journals *Rheinische Jahrbücher zur gesellschaftlichen Reform*, *Deutsches Bürgerbuch*, *Gesellschaftsspiegel*, and *Das Westphälische Dampfboot*, which were published in Germany at that time and for which Marx and Engels intended many of their articles, were all to a greater or lesser extent mouthpieces for the ideas of petty-bourgeois "true socialism", alien to the revolutionary communist outlook. Attempts to influence the trend of some of these periodicals, in particular Engels' efforts to impart a revolutionary critical character to the *Gesellschaftsspiegel*, did not succeed. The collaboration of Marx and Engels with these publications could only be incidental and of short duration. They soon broke entirely with some, and wrote elsewhere in opposition to them. Nevertheless, their contributions, even in these publications, played no small part in formulating and spreading communist views and in the birth of the revolutionary proletarian trend in the socialist movement of the time, drawing the line between revolutionary communism and other, non-proletarian trends. A group of their first adherents already began to unite around Marx and Engels in Brussels.

Marx's article on the book *Das nationale System der politischen Oekonomie*, by the German economist Friedrich List, was intended for one of the above-named periodicals, but remained unpublished. The present volume includes a recently discovered draft of this article, which contains a trenchant criticism of the views held by List as an apologist of the German bourgeoisie, which was then seeking by protective tariffs to defend itself against competition from the more developed capitalist countries. Marx stresses that List's views reflected the physiognomy of the German bourgeois: his desire to cover up his greedy exploitation and lust for profit with pompous talk about the national interest, coupled with his abject servility towards the aristocracy. But Marx did not confine himself to merely criticising List's views. The draft published in this volume bears witness to his intense work in thinking over the theoretical problems, the materialist interpretation of basic economic and sociological categories such as "labour", "worker", "exchange value", "productive forces", and others. In the course of his analysis Marx reveals the difference in principle between the "human kernel" of factory and plant production which creates "the proletariat, and in the shape of the proletariat the power of a new world order", and its capitalist "dirty outer shell" which has to be broken to free the productive forces of society from their

fetters (see p. 282 of this volume). The thoughts set forth by Marx in this draft were developed in his subsequent philosophical and economic works.

The article "Peuchet: On Suicide" provides proof that in criticising bourgeois society Marx sought not only to lay bare its economic contradictions, but also to expose bourgeois morality, customs and way of living. Making use of material on suicides and their motives, which he obtained from the memoirs of the police archives custodian in Paris, Marx showed that the bourgeois world is ruled by egoism, violation of the human personality, trampling on natural feelings, monstrous family relations.

Engels' articles published in this volume: "Continental Socialism", "Rapid Progress of Communism in Germany", "Speeches in Elberfeld", and others, belong to the Barmen period of his work. They present a picture of the social discontent in Germany in the forties, the growth of opposition to the feudal and absolutist system, and the social dissatisfaction of the working people reflected in the wide propagation of communist and socialist ideas. These articles contain remarkable biographical material and illustrate the mercurial enthusiasm with which young Engels set about his organisational, agitational and journalistic activity in the Rhine Province of Prussia.

In the "Speeches in Elberfeld", Engels pronounced a detailed condemnation of the capitalist system eroded by internal contradictions, and laid bare the economic roots of the class struggle, basing himself both on his experiences in England and a thorough study of conditions in Germany. He spoke of the "contradiction between a few rich people on the one hand, and many poor on the other", and foretold that it would go on deepening "as long as the present basis of society is retained". To the world of cruel exploitation, barbarous squandering of human resources, ruthless competition, war of all against all, Engels opposed a communist society, humanely and economically organised, in which "the interests of individuals are not opposed to one another but, on the contrary, are united" (see pp. 244, 246 of this volume). Engels likewise endeavoured to demonstrate the superiority of the communist system in the article "Description of Recently Founded Communist Colonies Still in Existence". He did not share the views of utopian Socialists who thought that the entire social system could be peacefully transformed by the diffusion of these experimental colonies; he saw their significance rather in their example, which proved that it was possible to organise social and economic relations more justly and rationally on a collective basis.

Among the works written by Engels in Brussels is his "A Fragment of Fourier's on Trade", which contains his translation of extracts from Fourier's work *Des trois unités externes* accompanied by an introduction and a conclusion written by himself. It was no accident that Engels took the trouble to translate this outstanding representative of utopian socialism. He placed a high value on Fourier's criticism of existing society, and intended to include his works in the "Library of the Best Foreign Socialist Writers", the publication of which he and Marx had planned (see p. 667 of this volume). The excerpts from Fourier's writings which he selected expose the cupidity, money-grubbing and deceit reigning in the sphere of finance and trade. This work of Engels was also the first public attack against petty-bourgeois "true socialism", which debased socialist teaching into something sentimental, eclectic, abstract and divorced from the requirements of revolutionary struggle.

Engels' article on Fourier and his intention to publish the works of other Socialists show that Marx and himself held their ideological forerunners in high respect. Criticism of the weaknesses of utopian socialism did not prevent them from seeing in it the rational elements appreciation of which would contribute to the workers' education and help them to acquire the revolutionary proletarian world outlook.

Close to the book *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* are Engels' articles "An English Turnout" and "History of the English Corn Laws". These articles throw additional light on the acute class struggle which had developed in England between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The second describes the workers' demonstrations in August 1842, and the provocative role played in these events by the bourgeois adherents of free trade united in the Anti-Corn Law League.

This volume also contains several articles by Engels published in September and October 1845 in *The Northern Star*. Engels informed his English Chartist readers that, in comparison with the middle-of-the-road and irresolute positions adopted by bourgeois liberal circles in Germany, the German working class was distinguished by greater radicalism and receptivity to revolutionary views. One of the basic ideas expounded in these reports was the need for ideological and political independence for the working class, "who have a movement of their own—a knife-and-fork movement" (see p. 648 of this volume).

In the section of this volume "From the Preparatory Materials" are published draft plans revealing the broad scope of Marx's

intentions and the variety of fields which his searching mind explored (problems concerning the state, the history of the French Revolution, and so on). The Appendices include, besides other biographical documents, Marx's contract with the Leske publishing house for the publication of his projected work in two volumes *Kritik der Politik und Nationalökonomie*. It was out of this plan, which was partially implemented in the "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844", that the idea of *Capital* later crystallised.

* * *

Some of the works included in this volume have been translated into English for the first time. Among these are such writings by Marx as "Draft of an Article on Friedrich List's Book *Das nationale System der politischen Oekonomie*", "Peuchet: On Suicide", "Plan of the Library of the Best Foreign Socialist Writers", and all the items contained in the Appendices.

Among the works of Engels the following articles have not been previously translated into English: "Description of Recently Founded Communist Colonies Still in Existence", "Speeches in Elberfeld", "A Fragment of Fourier's on Trade", "History of the English Corn Laws", and the prospectus of the *Gesellschaftsspiegel* (published as an Appendix, since it was written in co-authorship with Hess). Reprinted for the first time in the language of the original are Engels' two articles from *The Northern Star*: "Young Germany' in Switzerland" and "Persecution and Expulsion of Communists". Engels' book *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* is published in the English translation by Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky which Engels himself authorised in the 1880s. The most important differences between the original and the translation which affect the meaning are particularised in footnotes.

Those works which have previously been published in English are either rendered in new translations or previous translations have been checked with the original. The special features in the presentation of individual works, in particular manuscripts, are described in the Notes.

Most of the works published in this volume have been translated from the German. If the translation is from another language, or if the text was written by the authors in English, mention is made of this at the end of the particular work.

The volume was compiled and the preface and notes written by Tatyana Yeremeyeva and edited by Lev Golman (Institute of

Marxism-Leninism of the C.C., C.P.S.U.). Valentina Kholopova (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.C., C.P.S.U.) prepared the Name Index, the Index of Quoted and Mentioned Literature and the Index of Periodicals, and Yevgenia Zastenker the Subject Index.

The new translations are by Jack Cohen, Richard Dixon, Clemens Dutt, Barbara Ruhemann and Christopher Upward, and edited by Margaret Mynatt, Pat Sloan and Alick West (Lawrence & Wishart), Richard Dixon, Yelena Chistyakova and Victor Schnittke (Progress Publishers) and Vladimir Mosolov, scientific editor (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.C., C.P.S.U.).

The volume was prepared for the press by the editor Nadezhda Rudenko and the assistant-editor Tatyana Shimanovskaya, for Progress Publishers.

KARL MARX
and
FREDERICK ENGELS

WORKS

September 1844-November 1845

Die heilige Familie,

oder

K r i t i k

der

K r i t i s c h e n K r i t i k.

Gegen Bruno Bauer & Consorten.

Von

Friedrich Engels und Karl Marx.

Frankfurt a. M.

L i t e r a r i s c h e A n s t a l t.

(J. Rütten.)

1 8 4 5.

Title-page of the first edition of *The Holy Family*

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

**THE HOLY FAMILY
OR
CRITIQUE OF CRITICAL CRITICISM
AGAINST BRUNO BAUER AND COMPANY¹**

Written in September-November 1844

First published as a separate book
in 1845 in Frankfurt am Main

Signed: *Frederick Engels* and *Karl Marx*

Translated from the German
edition of 1845

Foreword

Real humanism has no more dangerous enemy in Germany than *spiritualism* or *speculative idealism*, which substitutes “*self-consciousness*” or the “*spirit*” for the *real individual man* and with the evangelist teaches: “It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing.” Needless to say, this incorporeal spirit is spiritual only in its imagination. What we are combating in *Bauer’s* criticism is precisely *speculation* reproducing itself as a *caricature*. We see in it the most complete expression of the *Christian-Germanic* principle, which makes its last effort by transforming “*criticism*” itself into a transcendent power.

Our exposition deals first and foremost with *Bruno Bauer’s Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*—the first eight numbers are here before us—because in it *Bauer’s* criticism, and with it the nonsense of *German speculation in general*, has reached its peak. The more completely *Critical Criticism* (the criticism of the *Literatur-Zeitung*) distorts reality into an obvious comedy through philosophy, the more instructive it is.—For examples see *Faucher* and *Szeliga*.—The *Literatur-Zeitung* offers material by which even the broad public can be enlightened on the illusions of speculative philosophy. That is the aim of our book.

Our exposition is naturally determined by its *subject*. *Critical Criticism* is in all respects *below* the level already attained by German theoretical development. The nature of our subject therefore justifies our refraining *here* from further *discussion* of that development itself.

Critical Criticism makes it necessary rather to assert, in contrast to it, the already achieved results *as such*.

We therefore give this polemic as a preliminary to the independent works in which we—each of us for himself, of course—shall present our positive view and thereby our positive attitude to the more recent philosophical and social doctrines.

Paris, September 1844

Engels, Marx

Chapter I

“CRITICAL CRITICISM IN THE FORM OF A MASTER-BOOKBINDER”, OR CRITICAL CRITICISM AS HERR REICHARDT

Critical Criticism, however superior to the mass it deems itself, nevertheless has boundless pity for the mass. And Criticism so loved the mass that it sent its only begotten son, that all who believe in him may not be lost, but may have Critical life. Criticism was made mass and dwells amongst us and we behold its glory, the glory of the only begotten son of the father. In other words, Criticism becomes socialistic and speaks of “works on pauperism”.² It does not regard it as a crime to be equal to God but alienates itself and takes the form of a master-bookbinder and humiliates itself to the extent of nonsense—indeed even to Critical nonsense in foreign languages. It, whose heavenly virginal purity shrinks from contact with the sinful leprous mass, overcomes itself to the extent of taking notice of “*Bodz*”^a and “all original writers on pauperism” and “has for years been following this evil of the present time step by step”; it scorns writing for experts, it writes for the general public, banning all outlandish expressions, all “Latin intricacies, all professional jargon”. It bans all that from the works of *others*, for it would be too much to expect Criticism itself to submit to “this administrative regulation”. And yet it does do so partly, renouncing with admirable ease, if not the words themselves, at least their content. And who will reproach it for using “the huge heap of unintelligible foreign words” when it repeatedly proves that it does not understand those words itself? Here are a few samples³:

^a Reichardt’s distortion of Charles Dickens’ pseudonym: *Boz*.—*Ed.*

"That is why the *institutions of mendicancy* inspire them with horror."

"A doctrine of responsibility in which every motion of *human thought becomes an image of Lot's wife.*"

"On the keystone of this really *profound edifice of art.*"

"This is the main content of Stein's political testament, which the great statesman handed in even before retiring from the active service of the government *and from all its transactions.*"

"This people had *not yet any dimensions* at that time for such extensive freedom."

"By *palavering* with fair assurance at the end of his publicistic work that only confidence was still lacking."

"To the manly state-elevating understanding, rising above routine and pusillanimous fear, reared on history and nurtured with a live perception of foreign public state system."

"The education of general national welfare."

"Freedom lay dead *in the breast of the Prussian national mission* under the control of the authorities."

"*Popular-organic* publicism."

"The people to whom even Herr Brüggemann delivers the *baptismal certificate of its adulthood.*"

"A rather glaring contradiction to the other *certitudes* which are expressed in the work on the professional capacities of the people."

"Wretched self-interest quickly dispels all the *chimeras of the national will.*"

"Passion for great gains, etc., was the spirit that pervaded the whole of the Restoration period and which, with a *fair quantity of indifference, adhered* to the new age."

"The obscure idea of political significance to be found in the *Prussian countrymanship nationality rests on the memory of a great history.*"

"The antipathy disappeared and turned into a completely exalted condition."

"In this wonderful transition each one in his own way still *put forward in prospect* his own special wish."

"A catechism with unctuous Solomon-like language the words of which rise gently like a dove—chirp! chirp!—to the regions of pathos and *thunder-like aspects.*"

"All the *dilettantism of thirty-five years of neglect.*"

"The *too sharp thundering* at the citizens by one of their former town authorities could have been suffered with the calmness of mind characteristic of our representatives if Benda's view of the Town Charter of 1808 had not laboured under a *Mussulman conceptual affliction* with regard to the essence and the application of the Town Charter."

In Herr Reichardt, the audacity of style always corresponds to the audacity of the thought. He makes transitions like the following:

"Herr Brüggemann ... 1843 ... state theory ... every upright man ... the great modesty of our Socialists ... natural marvels ... demands to be made on Germany ... supernatural marvels ... Abraham ... Philadelphia ... manna ... baker ... but *since* we are speaking of *marvels, Napoleon* brought," etc.

After these samples it is no wonder that Critical Criticism gives us a further "explanation" of a sentence which it itself describes as expressed in "popular language", for it "arms its eyes with organic power to penetrate chaos". And here it must be said that then even

“popular language” cannot remain unintelligible to Critical Criticism. It is aware that the way of the writer must necessarily be a crooked one if the individual who sets out on it is not strong enough to make it straight; and therefore it naturally ascribes “mathematical operations” to the author.

It is self-evident—and history, which proves everything which is self-evident, also proves this—that Criticism does not become mass in order to remain mass, but in order to redeem the mass from its mass-like mass nature, that is, to raise the popular language of the mass to the critical language of Critical Criticism. It is the lowest grade of degradation for Criticism to learn the popular language of the mass and transfigure that vulgar jargon into the high-flown intricacy of the dialectics of Critical Criticism.

Chapter II

“CRITICAL CRITICISM” AS A “MILL-OWNER”, OR CRITICAL CRITICISM AS HERR JULES FAUCHER⁴

After rendering most substantial services to self-consciousness by humiliating itself to the extent of nonsense in foreign languages, and thereby at the same time freeing the world from pauperism, Criticism still further humiliates itself to the extent of *nonsense in practice and history*. It masters “*English questions of the day*” and gives us a genuinely *critical outline of the history of English industry*.

Criticism, which is self-sufficient, and complete and perfect in itself, naturally cannot recognise history as it really took place, for that would mean recognising the base Mass in all its mass-like mass nature, whereas the problem is precisely to redeem the Mass from its mass nature. History is therefore freed from its mass nature, and Criticism, which has a *free* attitude to its object, calls to history: “*You ought to have happened in such and such a way!*” All the laws of Criticism have *retrospective* force: *prior* to the decrees of Criticism, history behaved quite differently from how it did *after* them. Hence mass-type history, so-called *real* history, deviates considerably from *Critical* history, as it takes place in Heft VII of the *Literatur-Zeitung* from page 4 onwards.

In mass-type history there were *no factory towns* before there were *factories*; but in Critical history, in which, as already in *Hegel*, the son begets his father, *Manchester*, *Bolton* and *Preston* were flourishing factory towns before factories were even thought of. In real history the *cotton industry* was founded mainly on *Hargreaves’ jenny* and *Arkwright’s throstle*, *Crompton’s mule* being only an improvement of the spinning jenny according to the new principle discovered by Arkwright. But Critical history knows how to make distinctions: it scorns the one-sidedness of the jenny and the

throstle, and gives the crown to the mule as the speculative identity of the extremes. In reality, the invention of the throstle and the mule immediately made possible the *application of water-power* to those machines, but Critical Criticism sorts out the principles lumped together by crude history and makes this application come only later, as something quite special. In reality the invention of the steam-engine *preceded* all the above-mentioned inventions; according to Criticism it is the crown of them all and the *last*.

In reality the *business ties* between Liverpool and Manchester in their present scope were the result of the export of English goods; according to Criticism they are the *cause* of the export and both are the result of the proximity of the two towns. In reality nearly all goods from Manchester go to the Continent via *Hull*, according to Criticism via *Liverpool*.

In reality all *grades of wages* exist in English factories, from 1s 6d to 40s and more; but according to Criticism only *one* rate is paid—11s. In reality the *machine* replaces *manual labour*; according to Criticism it replaces *thought*. In reality the *association* of workers for wage rises is allowed in *England*, but according to Criticism it is prohibited, for when the Mass wants to allow itself anything it must first ask Criticism. In reality *factory labour* is extremely *tiring* and gives rise to specific diseases—there are even special medical works on them; according to Criticism “excessive exertion cannot be a hindrance to work, for the power is provided by the machine”. In reality the machine is a machine; according to Criticism it has a *will*, for as it does not rest, neither can the worker, and he is subordinated to an alien will.

But that is still nothing at all. Criticism cannot be content with the *mass-type parties* in England; it creates new ones, including a “*factory party*”, for which history may be thankful to it. On the other hand, it lumps together the factory-owners and the factory workers in *one* massive heap—why bother about such trifles!—and decrees that the factory workers refused to contribute to the Anti-Corn-Law League³ not out of ill-will or because of Chartism, as the stupid factory-owners maintain, but merely because they were poor. It further decrees that with the repeal of the English Corn Laws agricultural labourers will have to put up with a lowering of wages, in regard to which, however, we must most submissively remark that that destitute class cannot be deprived of another penny without being reduced to absolute starvation. It decrees that the working day in English factories is *sixteen* hours, although a silly un-Critical English law has fixed a

maximum of twelve hours. It decrees that England is to become a huge workshop for the world, although the un-Critical mass of Americans, Germans and Belgians are ruining one market after another for the English by their competition. Lastly, it decrees that neither the propertied nor the non-propertied classes in England are aware of the *centralisation of property* and its consequences for the working classes, although the stupid Chartists think they are well aware of them; the *Socialists* maintain that they expounded those consequences in detail long ago, and even Tories and Whigs like *Carlyle*, *Alison* and *Gaskell* have proved their knowledge of them in their works.

Criticism decrees that Lord Ashley's *Ten Hour Bill*⁶ is a half-hearted *juste-milieu* measure and Lord Ashley himself "a true illustration of constitutional action",^a while the factory-owners, the Chartists, the landowners—in short, all that makes up the mass nature of England—have so far considered this measure as an expression, the mildest possible one admittedly, of a downright radical principle, since it would lay the axe at the root of foreign trade and thereby at the root of the factory system—nay, not merely lay the axe to it, but cut deeply into it. Critical Criticism knows better. It knows that the ten hour question was discussed before a "commission" of the Lower House, although the un-Critical newspapers try to make us believe that this "commission" was the *House itself*, "*a Committee of the Whole House*"⁷; but Criticism must needs do away with that eccentricity of the English Constitution.

Critical Criticism, which itself *begets its opposite*, the *stupidity of the Mass*, also produces the stupidity of Sir James Graham: by a Critical understanding of the English language it puts things in his mouth which the un-Critical Home Secretary never said, just to allow Critical wisdom to shine brighter in comparison with his stupidity. Graham, according to Criticism, says that the machines in the factories wear out in about twelve years whether they work ten hours a day or twelve, and that therefore a Ten Hour Bill would make it impossible for the capitalists to reproduce in twelve years through the work of their machines the capital laid out on them. Criticism proves that it has thus put a false conclusion in the mouth of Sir James Graham, for a machine that works one-sixth of the time less every day will naturally remain usable longer.

However correct this observation of Critical Criticism against its own false conclusion, it must, on the other hand, be conceded that

^a Here and below the quotations are taken from the continuation of Faucher's article, published in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, Heft VIII, July 1844.—Ed.

Sir James Graham said that under a Ten Hour Bill the machine would have to work quicker in the proportion that its working time was reduced (Criticism itself quotes this in [Heft] VIII, page 32) and that in that case the time when it would be worn out would be the same—twelve years.⁸ This must all the more be acknowledged as the acknowledgement contributes to the glory and exaltation of “*Criticism*”; for only Criticism both made the false conclusion and then refuted it. Criticism is just as magnanimous towards Lord *John Russell*, to whom it imputes the wish to change the political form of the state and the electoral system. From this we must conclude either that Criticism’s urge to produce stupidities is uncommonly powerful or that Lord John Russell must have become a Critical Critic within the past week.

But Criticism only becomes truly magnificent in its fabrication of stupidities when it discovers that the English workers—who in April and May held meeting after meeting, drew up petition after petition, and all for the Ten Hour Bill, and displayed more agitation throughout the factory districts than at any time during the past two years—that those workers take only a “*partial interest*” in this question, although it is evident that “legislation limiting the working day has also occupied their attention”. Criticism is truly magnificent when it finally makes the great, the glorious, the unheard-of discovery that

“the apparently more immediate help from the repeal of the Corn Laws absorbs most of the wishes of the workers and will do so until no longer doubtful realisation of those wishes practically proves the futility of the repeal” —

proves it to workers who drag Anti-Corn-Law agitators down from the platform at every public meeting, who have seen to it that the Anti-Corn-Law League no longer dares to hold a public meeting in any English industrial town, who consider the League to be their only enemy and who, during the debate of the Ten Hour Bill—as nearly always before in similar matters—had the support of the Tories. Criticism is superb, too, when it discovers that “the workers still let themselves be lured by the sweeping promises of the *Chartist movement*”, which is nothing but the political expression of public opinion among the workers. Criticism is superb, too, when it realises, in the depths of its Absolute Spirit, that

“the two party groupings, the political one and that of the landowners and mill-owners, *no longer wish to merge or coincide*”.

It was so far not known that the party grouping of the landowners and the mill-owners, because of the numerical small-

ness of either class of owners and the equal political rights of each (with the exception of the few peers), was so comprehensive that it was completely identical with the political party groupings, and not their most consistent expression, their peak. Criticism is splendid when it suggests that the Anti-Corn-Law Leaguers do not know that, *ceteris paribus*,^a a drop in the price of bread must be followed by a drop in wages, so that all would remain as it was; whereas these people expect that, granted there is a drop in wages and a consequent lowering of production costs, the result will be an expansion of the market. This, they expect, would lead to a reduction of competition among the workers, and consequently wages would still be kept a little higher in comparison with the price of bread than they are now.

Freely creating its opposite—nonsense—and moving in artistic rapture, Criticism, which only two years ago exclaimed “Criticism speaks German, theology speaks Latin!”,^b has now learnt *English* and calls the estate-owners “*Landeigner*” (landowners), the factory-owners “*Mühleigner*” (mill-owners)—in English a mill means any factory with machinery driven by steam or water-power—and the workers “*Hände*” (hands). Instead of “*Einmischung*” it says *Interferenz* (interference); and in its infinite mercy for the English language, the sinful mass nature of which is abundantly evident, it condescends to improve it by doing away with the pedantry with which the English place the title “Sir” before the *Christian* name of knights and baronets. Where the Mass says “Sir James Graham”, it says “Sir Graham”.

That Criticism reforms *English* history and the *English* language out of *principle* and not out of *levity* will presently be proved by the *thoroughness* with which it treats the *history of Herr Nauwerck*.

^a Other things remaining the same.—*Ed.*

^b Bruno Bauer, *Die Gute Sache der Freiheit und meine eigene Angelegenheit*, Zürich u. Winterthur, 1842.—*Ed.*

Chapter III

“THE THOROUGHNESS OF CRITICAL CRITICISM”, OR CRITICAL CRITICISM AS HERR J. (JUNGNITZ?)⁹

Criticism cannot ignore Herr *Nauwerck's* infinitely important dispute with the Berlin Faculty of Philosophy. It has indeed had a similar experience and it must take Herr *Nauwerck's* fate as a background in order to put its own *dismissal from Bonn*¹⁰ in sharper relief. Criticism, being accustomed to considering the Bonn affair as the event of the century, and having already written the “philosophy of the deposition of criticism”, could be expected to give a similar detailed philosophical construction of the Berlin “collision”. Criticism proves *a priori* that everything had to happen in such a way and no other. It proves:

1) Why the Faculty of Philosophy was bound to come into “collision” not with a logician or metaphysician, but with a philosopher of the state;

2) Why that collision could not be so sharp and decisive as Criticism's conflict with theology in Bonn;

3) Why that collision was, properly speaking, a stupid business, since Criticism had already concentrated all principles and all content in its Bonn collision, so that world history could only become a plagiarist of Criticism;

4) Why the Faculty of Philosophy considered attacks on the works of Herr *Nauwerck* as attacks on itself;

5) Why no other course remained for Herr N. but to retire of his own accord;

6) Why the Faculty had to defend Herr N. if it did not want to disavow itself;

7) Why the “inner split in the Faculty had necessarily to manifest itself in such a way” that the Faculty declared both N. and the Government right and wrong at the same time;

8) Why the Faculty finds in N.'s works no reason for dismissing him;

9) What determined the lack of clarity of the whole verdict;

10) Why the Faculty "deems itself (!) entitled (!) as a scientific authority (!) to examine the essence of the matter", and finally;

11) Why, nevertheless, the Faculty does not want to write in the same way as Herr N.

Criticism disposes of these important questions with rare thoroughness in four pages, proving by means of Hegel's logic why everything had to happen as it did and why no god could have prevented it. In another place Criticism says that there has not yet been full knowledge of a single epoch in history; modesty prevents it from saying that it has full knowledge of at least its own collision and Nauwerck's, which, although they are not epochs, appear to Criticism to be epoch-making.

Having "abolished" in itself the "element" of *thoroughness*, Critical Criticism becomes "*the tranquillity of knowledge*".¹¹

Chapter IV

“CRITICAL CRITICISM” AS THE TRANQUILLITY OF KNOWLEDGE, OR “CRITICAL CRITICISM” AS HERR EDGAR

1) FLORA TRISTAN'S UNION OUVRIÈRE¹²

The French Socialists maintain that the worker makes everything, produces everything and yet has no rights, no possessions, in short, nothing at all. Criticism answers in the words of Herr *Edgar*, the personification of the *tranquillity of knowledge*:

“To be able to create everything, a stronger consciousness is needed than that of the worker. Only the opposite of the above proposition would be true: the worker makes nothing, therefore he has nothing; but the reason why he makes nothing is that his work is always individual, having as its object his most personal needs, and is everyday work.”

Here Criticism achieves a height of abstraction in which it regards only the creations of its own thought and generalities which contradict all reality as “something”, indeed as “*everything*”. The worker creates nothing because he creates only “individual”, that is, perceptible, palpable, spiritless and un-Critical objects, which are an abomination in the eyes of pure Criticism. Everything that is real and living is un-Critical, of a mass nature, and therefore “nothing”; only the ideal, fantastic creatures of Critical Criticism are “*everything*”.

The worker creates nothing, because his work remains individual, having only his individual needs as its object, that is, because in the present world system the individual interconnected branches of labour are separated from, and even opposed to, one another; in short, because labour is not *organised*. Criticism's own proposition, if taken in the only reasonable sense it can possibly have, demands the organisation of labour. Flora Tristan, in an assessment of whose work this great proposition appears, puts forward the same demand and is treated *en canaille*^a for her insolence in anticipating Critical Criticism. Anyhow, the proposition that the

^a Contemptuously.— *Ed.*

worker creates nothing is absolutely crazy except in the sense that the *individual* worker produces nothing *whole*, which is tautology. Critical Criticism creates nothing, the worker creates everything; and so much so that even his intellectual creations put the whole of Criticism to shame; the English and the French workers provide proof of this. The worker creates even *man*; the critic will never be anything but sub-human^a though on the other hand, of course, he has the satisfaction of being a Critical critic.

“Flora Tristan is an example of the feminine dogmatism which must have a formula and constructs it out of the categories of what exists.”

Criticism does nothing but “construct formulae out of the categories of what exists”, namely, out of the existing *Hegelian* philosophy and the existing social aspirations. Formulae, nothing but formulae. And despite all its invectives against dogmatism, it condemns itself to dogmatism and even to *feminine* dogmatism. It is and remains an old woman—faded, widowed *Hegelian* philosophy which paints and adorns its body, shrivelled into the most repulsive abstraction, and ogles all over Germany in search of a wooer.

2) BÉRAUD ON PROSTITUTES¹³

Herr Edgar, taking pity on social questions, meddles also in “*conditions of prostitutes*” (Heft V, p. 26).^b

He criticises Paris Police Commissioner Béraud’s book on prostitution because he is concerned with the “*point of view*” from which “Béraud considers the attitude of prostitutes to society”. The “tranquillity of knowledge” is surprised to see that a policeman adopts the point of view of the police, and it gives the Mass to understand that that point of view is quite wrong. But it does not reveal its own point of view. Of course not! When Criticism takes up with prostitutes it cannot be expected to do so in public.

3) LOVE

In order to complete its transformation into the “tranquillity of knowledge”, Critical Criticism must first seek to dispose of *love*. Love is a passion, and nothing is more dangerous for the

^a In the German text there is a pun on the words “Mensch” (man) and “Unmensch” (brute).—*Ed.*

^b *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, Heft V, April 1844.—*Ed.*

tranquillity of knowledge than passion. That is why, speaking of Madame von Paalzow's novels, which, he assures us, he has "thoroughly studied", Herr Edgar is amazed at "a *childish thing like so-called love*".¹⁴ It is a horror and abomination and excites the wrath of Critical Criticism, makes it almost as bitter as gall, indeed, insane.

"Love ... is a cruel goddess, and like every deity she wishes to possess the whole of man and is not satisfied until he has surrendered to her not merely his soul, but his physical self. The worship of love is suffering, the peak of this worship is self-immolation, suicide."

In order to change love into "Moloch", the devil incarnate, Herr Edgar first changes it into a goddess. When love has become a goddess, i. e., a theological object, it is of course submitted to *theological criticism*; moreover, it is known that god and the devil are not far apart. Herr Edgar changes love into a "goddess", a "cruel goddess" at that, by changing *man who loves*, the love of *man*, into a man of *love*; by making "*love*" a being apart, separate from man and as such independent. By this simple process, by changing the predicate into the subject, all the attributes and manifestations of human nature can be Critically transformed into their *negation* and into *alienations* of human nature.^a Thus, for example, Critical Criticism makes criticism, as a predicate and activity of man, into a subject apart, criticism which relates itself to itself and is therefore *Critical Criticism*: a "Moloch", the worship of which consists in the self-immolation, the suicide of man, and in particular of his *ability to think*.

"*Object*," exclaims the tranquillity of knowledge, "object is the right expression, for the beloved is important to the lover [*denn der Geliebte ist dem Liebenden*] (there is no feminine) only as *this external object* of the *emotion of his soul*, as the object in which he wishes to see his selfish feeling satisfied."

Object! Horrible! There is nothing more damnable, more profane, more mass-like than an *object*—à *bas*^b the object! How could absolute subjectivity, the *actus purus*,^c "*pure*" Criticism, not see in love its *bête noire*,^d that Satan incarnate, in love, which first really teaches man to believe in the objective world outside himself,

^a A pun in the original: "*alle Wesensbestimmungen und Wesensäußerungen des Menschen* (all the attributes and manifestations of human nature) are transformed into "*Unwesen*" (fantastic creatures, monsters) and into "*Wesentäußerungen*" (alienations of human essence).—*Ed.*

^b Down with.—*Ed.*

^c Pure act.—*Ed.*

^d Object of special detestation.—*Ed.*

which not only makes man into an object, but even the object into a man!

Love, continues the tranquillity of knowledge, beside itself, is not even content with turning man into the *category* of "object" for another man, it even makes him into a *definite, real* object, into *this* bad-individual (see Hegel's *Phänomenologie*^a on the categories "This" and "That", where there is also a polemic against the bad "This"), *external* object, which does not remain internal, hidden in the brain, but is sensuously manifest.

Love

Lives not *only* in the *brain* immured.

No, the beloved is a *sensuous object*, and if Critical Criticism is to condescend to recognition of an object, it demands at the very least a *senseless* object. But love is an *un-Critical, unchristian materialist*.

Finally, love even makes one human being "*this external object of the emotion of the soul*" of another, the object in which the *selfish* feeling of the other finds its satisfaction, a *selfish* feeling because it *looks for its own essence* in the other, and that must not be. Critical Criticism is so *free* from all *selfishness* that for it the whole range of human essence is exhausted *by its own self*.

Herr Edgar, of course, does not tell us in what way the beloved differs from the other "external objects of the emotion of the soul in which the selfish feelings of men find their satisfaction". The spiritually profound, meaningful, highly expressive object of love means nothing to the tranquillity of knowledge but the abstract formula: "this external object of the emotion of the soul", much as the comet means nothing to the speculative natural philosopher but "negativity". By making man the external object of the emotion of his soul, man does in fact attach "importance" to him, Critical Criticism itself admits, but only *objective importance*, so to speak, while the importance which Criticism attaches to objects is none other than that which it attaches to itself. Hence this importance lies not in "bad *external being*", but in the "*Nothing*" of the Critically important object.

If the tranquillity of knowledge has no *object* in real man, it has, on the other hand, a *cause* in *humanity*. Critical love "*is careful* above all not to forget the *cause* behind the personality, for that cause is none other than the cause of humanity". Un-Critical love does not separate humanity from the personal, individual man.

^a G. W. F. Hegel, *Phänomenologie des Geistes*.—Ed.

"Love itself, as an *abstract* passion, which comes we know not whence and goes we know not whither, is incapable of having an interest in *internal* development."

In the eyes of the tranquillity of knowledge, love is an abstract passion according to the *speculative* terminology in which the concrete is called abstract and the abstract concrete.

The maid was not born in that valley,
But where she came from, no one knew.
And soon all trace of her did vanish
Once she had bidden them adieu.^a

For abstraction, love is "the maid from a foreign land" who has no dialectical passport and is therefore expelled from the country by the Critical police.

The passion of love is incapable of having an interest in *internal* development because it cannot be construed *a priori*, because its development is a real one which takes place in the world of the senses and between real individuals. But the main interest of speculative construction is the "Whence" and the "Whither". The "Whence" is the "*necessity* of a concept, its proof and deduction" (Hegel). The "Whither" is the determination "by which each individual link of the speculative circular course, as the animated content of the method, is at the same time the beginning of a new link" (Hegel). Hence, only if its "Whence" and its "Whither" could be construed *a priori* would love deserve the "interest" of speculative Criticism.

What Critical Criticism combats here is not merely love but everything living, everything which is immediate, every sensuous experience, any and every *real* experience, the "Whence" and the "Whither" of which one never *knows* beforehand.

By overcoming love, Herr Edgar has completely *asserted* himself as the "tranquillity of knowledge", and now by his treatment of *Proudhon*, he can show great virtuosity in knowledge, the "*object*" of which is no longer "*this external object*", and a still greater *lack of love* for the French language.

4) PROUDHON

It was not *Proudhon* himself, but "*Proudhon's point of view*", Critical Criticism informs us, that wrote *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?*

"I begin my exposition of Proudhon's point of view by characterising its" (the point of view's) "work, *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?*"¹⁵

As only the works of the Critical point of view possess a character of their own, the Critical characterisation necessarily

^a From Schiller's *Das Mädchen aus der Fremde*.—Ed.

begins by giving a character to Proudhon's work. Herr Edgar gives this work a character by *translating* it. He naturally gives it a *bad* character, for he turns it into an *object* of "Criticism".

Proudhon's work, therefore, is subjected to a double attack by Herr Edgar—an *unspoken* one in his characterising translation and an *outsoken* one in his Critical comments. We shall see that Herr Edgar is more devastating when he translates than when he comments.

Characterising Translation No. 1

"I do not wish" (says the Critically translated Proudhon) "to give any system of the new; I wish for nothing but the abolition of privilege, the abolition of slavery.... Justice, nothing but justice, that is what I mean."

The characterised Proudhon confines himself to will and opinion, because "good will" and unscientific "opinion" are characteristic attributes of the un-Critical Mass. The characterised Proudhon behaves with the humility that is fitting for the Mass and subordinates what he wishes to what he does *not* wish. He does not presume to wish to give a system of the new, he wishes less, he even wishes for *nothing* but the abolition of privilege, etc. Besides this Critical subordination of the will he has to the will he has not, his very first word is marked by a characteristic lack of logic. A writer who begins his book by saying that he does not wish to give any system of the new, should then tell us what he does wish to give: whether it is a systematised old or an unsystematised new. But does the characterised Proudhon, who does not wish to *give* any system of the new, wish to give the abolition of privilege? No. He just *wishes* it.

The *real* Proudhon says: "*Je ne fais pas de système; je demande la fin du privilège,*"^a etc. I make no system, I demand, etc., that is to say, the real Proudhon declares that he does not pursue any abstract scientific aims, but makes immediately practical demands on society. And the demand he makes is not an arbitrary one. It is motivated and justified by his whole argument and is the summary of that argument for, he says, "*justice, rien que justice; tel est le résumé de mon discours.*"^b With his "justice, nothing but justice, that is what I mean", the characterised Proudhon gets himself into a position which is all the more embarrassing as he means much more. According to Herr Edgar, for example, he "*means*" that philosophy has not been practical enough, he "*means*" to refute Charles Comte, and so forth.

^a "I make no system, I demand an end of privilege."—Ed.

^b "Justice, nothing but justice; that is the summary of what I say."—Ed.

The Critical Proudhon asks: "Ought *man* then always to be unhappy?" In other words, he asks whether unhappiness is man's moral destiny. The real Proudhon is a light-minded Frenchman and he asks whether unhappiness is a material necessity, a *must*. (*L'homme doit-il être éternellement malheureux?*^a)

The mass-type Proudhon says:

"Et, sans m'arrêter aux explications à toute fin des entrepreneurs de réformes, accusant de la détresse générale, ceux-ci la lâcheté et l'impérite du pouvoir, ceux-là les conspirateurs et les émeutes, d'autres l'ignorance et la corruption générale", etc.^b

The expression "*à toute fin*" being a bad mass-type expression that is not in the mass-type German dictionaries, the Critical Proudhon naturally omits this more exact definition of the "explanations". This term is taken from mass-type French jurisprudence, and "*explications à toute fin*" means explanations which preclude any objection. The Critical Proudhon censures the "Reformists", a French Socialist Party¹⁶; the mass-type Proudhon censures the initiators of reforms. The mass-type Proudhon distinguishes various classes of "*entrepreneurs de réformes*". These (*ceux-ci*) say *one thing*, those (*ceux-là*) say *another*, others (*d'autres*) a *third*. The Critical Proudhon, on the other hand, makes the *same reformists* "accuse now one, then another, then a third", which in any case is proof of their inconstancy. The real Proudhon, who follows mass-type French practice, speaks of "*les conspirateurs et les émeutes*", i.e., first of the conspirators and then of their activity, revolts. The Critical Proudhon, on the other hand, who has lumped together the various classes of reformists, classifies the rebels and hence says: the conspirators and the *rebels*. The mass-type Proudhon speaks of *ignorance* and "*general corruption*". The Critical Proudhon changes *ignorance* into stupidity, "*corruption*" into "*depravity*", and finally, as a Critical critic, makes the stupidity *general*. He himself gives an immediate example of it by putting "*générale*" in the singular instead of the plural. He writes: "*l'ignorance et la corruption générale*" for general stupidity and depravity. According to un-Critical French grammar this should be: *l'ignorance et la corruption générales*.

The characterised Proudhon, who speaks and thinks otherwise than the mass-type one, necessarily went through quite a different

^a *Must* man for ever be unhappy?—*Ed.*

^b "Without dwelling on the explanations precluding all objections given by the initiators of reforms, some of whom blame for the general distress the cowardice and incapacity of the government, others—conspirators and revolts, others again—ignorance and general corruption", etc.—*Ed.*

course of education. He “questioned the masters of science, read hundreds of volumes of philosophy and law, etc., and *at last*” he “realised that we have never yet grasped the meaning of the words Justice, Equity, Freedom”. The real Proudhon thought he had realised *at first* (*je crus d’abord reconnaître*^a) what the Critical Proudhon realised only “*at last*”. The Critical alteration of *d’abord* into *enfin* is necessary because the Mass may not think it realises anything “at first”. The mass-type Proudhon tells explicitly how he was staggered by the unexpected result of his studies and distrusted it. Hence he decided to carry out a “*countertest*” and asked himself: “Is it possible that mankind has so long and so universally been mistaken over the principles of the application of morals? How and why was it mistaken?” etc. He made the correctness of his observations dependent on the solution of these questions. He found that in morals, as in all other branches of knowledge, errors “*are stages of science*”. The Critical Proudhon, on the other hand, immediately trusted the first impression that his studies of political economy, law and the like made upon him. Needless to say, the Mass cannot proceed in any *thorough* way; it is bound to raise the first results of its investigations to the level of indisputable truths. It has “reached the end before it has started, before it has measured itself with its opposite”. Hence, “it is seen” later “that it is not yet at the beginning when it thinks it has reached the end”.

The Critical Proudhon therefore continues his reasoning in the most untenable and incoherent way.

“Our knowledge of moral laws is not complete from the beginning; *thus* it can for some time suffice for social progress, but in the long run it will lead us on a false path.”

The Critical Proudhon does not give any reason why incomplete knowledge of moral laws can suffice for social progress even for a single day. The real Proudhon, having asked himself whether and why mankind could universally and so long have been mistaken and having found as the solution that all errors are stages of science and that our most imperfect judgments contain a sum of truths sufficient for a certain number of inductions and for a certain area of practical life, beyond which number and which area they lead theoretically to the absurd and practically to decay, is in a position to say that even imperfect knowledge of moral laws can suffice for social progress for a time.

The Critical Proudhon says:

^a I thought *at first* I had recognised.—*Ed.*

"But if new knowledge has become necessary, a bitter struggle arises between the old prejudices and the new idea."

How can a struggle arise against an opponent who does *not yet* exist? Admitted, the Critical Proudhon has told us that a new idea has become necessary but he has not said that it has already *come into existence*.

The mass-type Proudhon says:

"Once higher knowledge has become indispensable it is *never lacking*", it is therefore ready at hand. "*It is then* that the struggle begins."

The Critical Proudhon asserts: "It is man's destiny to learn step by step", as if man did not have a quite different destiny, namely, that of being man, and as if that learning "step by step" necessarily brought him a step farther. I can go step by step and arrive at the very point from which I set out. The un-Critical Proudhon speaks, not of "destiny", but of the *condition (condition)* for man to learn not *step by step (pas à pas)*, but *by degrees (par degrés)*. The Critical Proudhon says to himself:

"Among the principles upon which society rests there is one which society does not understand, which is spoilt by society's ignorance and is the cause of all evil. Nevertheless, man honours *this principle*" and "wills it, for otherwise it would have no influence. Now this principle which is true in its *essence* but is false in the way we conceive it ... what is it?"

In the first sentence the Critical Proudhon says that the principle is spoilt, misunderstood by society, hence that it is correct in itself. In the second sentence he admits superfluously that it is true in its essence; nevertheless he reproaches society with willing and honouring "this principle". The mass-type Proudhon, on the other hand, reproaches society with willing and honouring not this principle, but this principle *as falsified by our ignorance* ("*Ce principe ... tel que notre ignorance l'a fait, est honoré.*"^a). The Critical Proudhon finds the *essence* of the principle in its untrue form *true*. The mass-type Proudhon finds that the essence of the falsified principle is our incorrect conception, but that it is true in its *object (objet)*, just as the essence of alchemy and astrology is our imagination, but their objects—the movement of the heavenly bodies and the chemical properties of substances—are true.

The Critical Proudhon continues his monologue:

"The object of our investigation is the law, the definition of the social principle. Now the politicians, i.e., the men of social science, are a prey to complete lack of clarity ...; but as there is a reality at the basis of every error, in their books we shall find the truth, which they have brought into the world without knowing it."

^a "This principle ... as our ignorance has made it, is honoured."—*Ed.*

The Critical Proudhon has a most fantastic way of reasoning. From the fact that the politicians are ignorant and unclear, he goes on in the most arbitrary fashion to say that a reality lies at the basis of every error, which can all the less be doubted as there is a reality at the basis of every error—in the person of the one who errs. From the fact that a reality lies *at the basis* of every error he goes on to conclude that truth is to be found *in the books* of politicians. And finally he even makes out that the politicians have brought this truth into the *world*. Had they brought it into the *world* we should not need to look for it in their *books*.

The mass-type Proudhon says:

“The politicians do not understand one another (*ne s'entendent pas*); their error is therefore a subjective one, having its origin in them (*donc c'est en eux qu'est l'erreur*).” Their mutual misunderstanding proves their one-sidedness. They confuse “their private opinion with common sense”, and “as”, according to the previous deduction, “every error has a true reality as its *object*, their books must contain the truth, which they unconsciously have put there”—i.e., in their books—“but have not brought into the world” (*dans leurs livres doit se trouver la vérité, qu'à leur insu ils y auront mise*).

The Critical Proudhon asks himself: “What is justice, what is its essence, its character, its meaning?” As if it had some meaning apart from its essence and character. The un-Critical Proudhon asks: What is its principle, its character and its formula (*formule*)? The formula is the principle as a principle of scientific reasoning. In the mass-type French language there is an essential difference between *formule* and *signification*. In the Critical French language there is none.

After his highly irrelevant disquisitions, the Critical Proudhon pulls himself together and exclaims:

“Let us try to get somewhat closer to our object.”

The un-Critical Proudhon, on the other hand, who arrived at his object long ago, tries to attain more precise and more positive definitions of his object (*d'arriver à quelque chose de plus précis et de plus positif*).

For the Critical Proudhon “the law is a *definition* of what is right”, for the un-Critical Proudhon it is a “*statement*” (*déclaration*) of it. The un-Critical Proudhon disputes the view that right is made by law. But a “*definition of the law*” can mean that the law is defined just as it can mean that it defines. Previously, the Critical Proudhon himself spoke about the definition of the social principle in this latter sense. To be sure, it is unseemly of the mass-type Proudhon to make such nice distinctions.

Considering these differences between the Critically character-

ised Proudhon and the real Proudhon, it is no wonder that Proudhon No. 1 seeks to *prove* quite different things than Proudhon No. 2.

The Critical Proudhon

"*seeks to prove by the experience of history*" that "if the idea that we have of what is just and right is false, *evidently*" (he tries to prove it in spite of its evidence) "all its applications in law must be bad, all our institutions must be defective".

The mass-type Proudhon is far from wishing to prove what is evident. He says instead:

"If the idea that we have of what is just and right were badly defined, if it were incomplete or even false, it is *evident* that all our legislative applications would be bad", etc.

What, then, does the un-Critical Proudhon wish to prove?

"This hypothesis," he continues, "of the perversion of justice in our understanding, and as a necessary consequence in our actions, would be an established fact if the opinions of men concerning the concept of justice and its applications had not remained constantly the same, if at different times they had undergone modifications; in a word, if there had been progress in ideas."

And precisely that inconstancy, that change, that progress "is what *history* proves by the most striking testimonies". And the un-Critical Proudhon quotes these striking testimonies of history. His Critical double, who proves a completely different proposition by the experience of history, also presents that experience itself in a different way.

According to the real Proudhon, "the wise" (*les sages*), according to the Critical Proudhon, "the philosophers", foresaw the fall of the Roman Empire. The Critical Proudhon can of course consider only philosophers to be wise men. According to the real Proudhon, Roman "rights were consecrated by ten centuries of law practice" or "administration of justice" (*ces droits consacrés par une justice dix fois séculaire*); according to the Critical Proudhon, Rome had "rights consecrated by ten centuries of *justice*".

According to the same Proudhon No. 1, the Romans reasoned as follows:

"Rome ... was victorious through its policy and its gods; any reform in worship or public spirit would be stupidity and profanation" (according to the Critical Proudhon, *sacrilège* means not the profanation or desecration of a holy thing, as in the mass-type French language, but just profanation). "Had it wished to free the peoples, it would thereby have renounced its right." "Rome had thus fact and right in its favour," Proudhon No. 1 adds.

According to the un-Critical Proudhon, the Romans reasoned more logically. The *fact* was set out in detail:

"The slaves are the most fertile source of its wealth; the freeing of the peoples would therefore be *the ruin of its finance*."

And the mass-type Proudhon adds, referring to law: "Rome's claims were justified by the law of nations (*droit des gens*)."^a This way of proving the right of subjugation was completely in keeping with the Roman view on law. See the mass-type pandects: "*jure gentium servitus invasit*" (Fr. 4. D. I. I).^a

According to the Critical Proudhon, "idolatry, slavery and softness" were "the basis of Roman institutions", of all its institutions without exception. The real Proudhon says: "Idolatry in religion, slavery in the state and Epicureanism in private life" (*épicurisme* in the ordinary French language is not synonymous with *mollesse*, softness) "were the basis of the institutions." Within that Roman situation there "appeared", says the mystic Proudhon, "the Word of God", whereas according to the real, rationalistic Proudhon, it was "a man who called himself the Word of God". In the real Proudhon this man calls the priests "vipers" (*vipères*); in the Critical Proudhon he speaks more courteously with them and calls them "serpents". In the former he speaks in the Roman way of "advocates" [*Advokaten*], in the latter in the German way of "lawyers" [*Rechtsgelehrte*].

The Critical Proudhon calls the spirit of the French Revolution a spirit of contradiction, and adds:

"That is enough to realise that the new which replaced the old had on itself [*an sich*] nothing methodical and considered."

He cannot refrain from repeating mechanically the favourite categories of Critical Criticism, the "old" and the "new". He cannot refrain from the senseless demand that the "new" should have on itself [*an sich*] something methodical and considered, just as one might have a stain on oneself [*an sich*]. The real Proudhon says:

"That is enough to prove that the new order of things which was substituted for the old was in itself [*in sich*] without method or reflection."

Carried away by the memory of the French Revolution, the Critical Proudhon *revolutionises* the French language so much that he translates *un fait physique*^b by "a fact of physics", and *un fait intellectuel*^c by "a fact of the intellect". By this revolution in the French language the Critical Proudhon manages to put physics in possession of all the facts to be found in nature. Raising natural science unduly on one side, he debases it just as much on the

^a "Slavery was spread by the law of nations." (*Corpus iuris civilis*, Vol. 1. Digesta¹⁷: Liber primus, titulus I, fragmentum 4.)—*Ed.*

^b A physical fact.—*Ed.*

^c An intellectual fact.—*Ed.*

other by depriving it of intellect and distinguishing between a fact of physics and a fact of the intellect. To the same extent he makes all further psychological and logical investigation unnecessary by raising the intellectual fact directly to the level of a fact of the intellect.

Since the Critical Proudhon, Proudhon No. 1, has not the slightest idea what the real Proudhon, Proudhon No. 2, wishes to prove by his historical deduction, neither does the real content of that deduction exist for him, namely, the proof of the change in the views on law and of the continuous *implementation* of justice by the *negation* of historical actual right.

"La société fut sauvée par la *négation* de ses ... principes ... et la *violation des droits les plus sacrés*."^a

Thus the real Proudhon proves how the negation of Roman law led to the widening of right in the Christian *conception*, the negation of the right of conquest to the right of the communes and the negation of the whole feudal law by the French Revolution to the present more comprehensive system of law.

Critical Criticism could not possibly leave Proudhon the glory of having discovered the law of the implementation of a principle by its negation. In this conscious formulation, this idea was a real revelation for the French.

Critical Comment No. 1

As the first criticism of any science is necessarily influenced by the premises of the science it is fighting against, so Proudhon's treatise *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?* is the criticism of *political economy* from the standpoint of political economy.— We need not go more deeply into the juridical part of the book, which criticises law from the standpoint of law, for our main interest is the criticism of political economy.— Proudhon's treatise will therefore be scientifically superseded by a criticism of *political economy*, including Proudhon's conception of political economy. This work became possible only owing to the work of Proudhon himself, just as Proudhon's criticism has as its premise the criticism of the mercantile system by the physiocrats, Adam Smith's criticism of the physiocrats, Ricardo's criticism of Adam Smith, and the works of Fourier and Saint-Simon.

All treatises on political economy take *private property* for

^a "Society was saved by the *negation* of its principles ... and the *violation* of the most sacred *rights*."— *Ed.*

granted. This basic premise is for them an incontestable fact to which they devote no further investigation, indeed a fact which is spoken about only “*accidentellement*”, as Say naively admits.^a But Proudhon makes a critical investigation—the first resolute, ruthless, and at the same time scientific investigation—of the basis of political economy, *private property*. This is the great scientific advance he made, an advance which revolutionises political economy and for the first time makes a real science of political economy possible. Proudhon’s treatise *Qu’est-ce que la propriété?* is as important for modern political economy as Sieyès’ work *Qu’est-ce que le tiers état?*^b for modern politics.

Proudhon does not consider the further creations of private property, e.g., wages, trade, value, price, money, etc., as forms of private property in themselves, as they are considered, for example, in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* (see *Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy* by F. Engels^c), but uses these economic premises in arguing against the political economists; this is fully in keeping with his historically justified standpoint to which we referred above.

Accepting the relationships of private property as human and rational, political economy operates in permanent contradiction to its basic premise, private property, a contradiction analogous to that of the theologian who continually gives a human interpretation to religious conceptions, and by that very fact comes into constant conflict with his basic premise, the superhuman character of religion. Thus in political economy wages appear at the beginning as the proportional share of the product due to labour. Wages and profit on capital stand in the most friendly, mutually stimulating, apparently most human relationship to each other. Afterwards it turns out that they stand in the most hostile relationship, in *inverse* proportion to each other. Value is determined at the beginning in an apparently rational way, by the cost of production of an object and by its social usefulness. Later it turns out that value is determined quite fortuitously and that it does not need to bear any relation to either the cost of production or social usefulness. The size of wages is determined at the beginning by *free* agreement between the free worker and the free capitalist. Later it turns out that the worker is compelled to allow the capitalist to determine it, just as the capitalist is compelled to

^a J.-B. Say, *Traité d’économie politique*, t. II, p. 471.—*Ed.*

^b *What Is the Third Estate?*—*Ed.*

^c See present edition, Vol. 3, pp. 418-43.—*Ed.*

fix it as low as possible. *Freedom* of the contracting parties has been supplanted by *compulsion*. The same holds good of trade and all other economic relationships. The economists themselves occasionally feel these contradictions, the development of which is the main content of the conflict between them. When, however, the economists become conscious of these contradictions, *they themselves* attack *private property* in one or other *particular* form as the falsifier of what is in itself (i.e., in their imagination) rational wages, in itself rational value, in itself rational trade. Adam Smith, for instance, occasionally polemises against the capitalists, Destutt de Tracy against the money-changers, Simonde de Sismondi against the factory system, Ricardo against landed property, and nearly all modern economists against the *non-industrial* capitalists, among whom property appears as a mere *consumer*.

Thus, as an exception—when they attack some special abuse—the economists occasionally stress the semblance of humanity in economic relations, but sometimes, and as a rule, they take these relations precisely in their clearly pronounced *difference* from the human, in their strictly economic sense. They stagger about within this contradiction completely unaware of it.

Now *Proudhon* has put an end to this unconsciousness once for all. He takes the *human semblance* of the economic relations seriously and sharply opposes it to their *inhuman reality*. He forces them to be in reality what they imagine themselves to be, or rather to give up their own idea of themselves and confess their real inhumanity. He therefore consistently depicts as the falsifier of economic relations not this or that particular kind of private property, as other economists do, but private property as such and in its entirety. He has done all that criticism of political economy from the standpoint of political economy can do.

Herr Edgar, who wishes to *characterise* the *standpoint* of the treatise *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?*, naturally does not say a word either of political economy or of the distinctive character of this book, which is precisely that it has made the *essence of private property* the vital question of political economy and jurisprudence. This is all self-evident for Critical Criticism. Proudhon, it says, has done nothing new by his negation of private property. He has only let out a secret which Critical Criticism did not want to divulge.

“Proudhon,” Herr Edgar continues immediately after his characterising translation, “therefore finds something absolute, an eternal foundation in history, a god that guides mankind — justice.”

Proudhon's book, written in France in 1840, does not adopt the standpoint of German development in 1844. It is Proudhon's standpoint, a standpoint which is shared by countless diametrically opposed French writers, which therefore gives Critical Criticism the advantage of having characterised the most contradictory standpoints with a single stroke of the pen. Incidentally, to be relieved from this Absolute in history as well one has only to apply consistently the law formulated by Proudhon himself, that of the implementation of justice by its negation. If Proudhon does not carry consistency as far as that, it is only because he had the misfortune of being born a Frenchman, not a German.

For Herr Edgar, Proudhon has become a *theological* object by his Absolute in history, his belief in justice, and Critical Criticism, which is *ex professo* a criticism of theology, can now set to work on him in order to expatiate on "religious conceptions".

"It is a characteristic of every religious conception that it sets up as a dogma a situation in which at the end one of the opposites comes out victorious as the only truth."

We shall see how religious Critical Criticism sets up as a dogma a situation in which at the end one of the opposites, "*Criticism*", comes out victorious over the other, the "Mass", as the only truth. By seeing in mass-type justice an Absolute, a god of history, Proudhon committed an injustice that is all the greater because just Criticism has *explicitly* reserved for itself the role of that Absolute, that god in history.

Critical Comment No. 2

"The fact of misery, of poverty, makes Proudhon one-sided in his considerations; he sees in it a *contradiction* to equality and justice; it provides him with a weapon. Hence this fact becomes for him absolute and justified, whereas the fact of property becomes unjustified."

The tranquillity of knowledge tells us that Proudhon sees in the fact of poverty a contradiction to justice, that is to say, finds it unjustified; yet in the same breath it assures us that this fact becomes for him absolute and justified.

Hitherto political economy proceeded from *wealth*, which the movement of private property supposedly creates for the *nations*, to its considerations which are an apology for private property. Proudhon proceeds from the opposite side, which political economy sophistically conceals, from the poverty bred by the movement of private property to his considerations which negate private property. The first criticism of private property proceeds,

of course, from the fact in which its contradictory essence appears in the form that is most perceptible and most glaring and most directly arouses man's indignation—from the fact of poverty, of misery.

"Criticism, on the other hand, joins the two facts, poverty and property, in a single unity, grasps the inner link between them and makes them a single whole, which it investigates as such to find the preconditions for its existence."

Criticism, which has hitherto understood nothing of the facts of property and of poverty, uses, "on the other hand", the deed which it has accomplished in its imagination as an argument against Proudhon's real deed. It unites the *two* facts in a *single* one, and having made *one* out of *two*, grasps the inner link between the *two*. Criticism cannot deny that Proudhon, too, is aware of an inner link between the facts of poverty and of property, since because of that very link he abolishes property in order to abolish poverty. Proudhon did even more. He proved in detail *how* the movement of capital produces poverty. But Critical Criticism does not bother with such trifles. It recognises that poverty and private property are *opposites*—a rather widespread recognition. It *makes* poverty and wealth *a single whole*, which it "investigates as such to find the preconditions for its existence"; an investigation which is all the more superfluous since it has just *made* "the whole as such" and therefore its *making* is in itself the precondition for the existence of this whole.

By investigating "the whole as such" to find the preconditions for its existence, Critical Criticism is searching in the genuine theological manner *outside* the "whole" for the preconditions for its existence. Critical speculation operates outside the object which it pretends to deal with. Whereas the *whole antithesis* is nothing but the *movement of both its sides*, and the precondition for the existence of the whole lies in the very nature of the two sides. But Critical Criticism dispenses with the study of this real movement which forms the whole in order to be able to declare that it, Critical Criticism as the tranquillity of knowledge, is above both extremes of the antithesis, and that its activity, which has made "the whole as such", is now alone in a position to abolish the abstraction of which it is the maker.

Proletariat and wealth are opposites; as such they form a single whole. They are both creations of the world of private property. The question is exactly what place each occupies in the antithesis. It is not sufficient to declare them two sides of a single whole.

Private property as private property, as wealth, is compelled to maintain *itself*, and thereby its opposite, the proletariat, in *existence*.

That is the *positive* side of the antithesis, self-satisfied private property.

The proletariat, on the contrary, is compelled as proletariat to abolish itself and thereby its opposite, private property, which determines its existence, and which makes it proletariat. It is the *negative* side of the antithesis, its restlessness within its very self, dissolved and self-dissolving private property.

The propertied class and the class of the proletariat present the same human self-estrangement. But the former class feels at ease and strengthened in this self-estrangement, it recognises estrangement as *its own power* and has in it the *semblance* of a human existence. The latter feels annihilated in estrangement; it sees in it its own powerlessness and the reality of an inhuman existence. It is, to use an expression of Hegel, in its abasement the *indignation* at that abasement, an indignation to which it is necessarily driven by the contradiction between its human *nature* and its condition of life, which is the outright, resolute and comprehensive negation of that nature.

Within this antithesis the private property-owner is therefore the *conservative* side, the proletarian the *destructive* side. From the former arises the action of preserving the antithesis, from the latter the action of annihilating it.

Indeed private property drives itself in its economic movement towards its own dissolution, but only through a development which does not depend on it, which is unconscious and which takes place against the will of private property by the very nature of things, only inasmuch as it produces the proletariat *as* proletariat, poverty which is conscious of its spiritual and physical poverty, dehumanisation which is conscious of its dehumanisation, and therefore self-abolishing. The proletariat executes the sentence that private property pronounces on itself by producing the proletariat, just as it executes the sentence that wage-labour pronounces on itself by producing wealth for others and poverty for itself. When the proletariat is victorious, it by no means becomes the absolute side of society, for it is victorious only by abolishing itself and its opposite. Then the proletariat disappears as well as the opposite which determines it, private property.

When socialist writers ascribe this world-historic role to the proletariat, it is not at all, as Critical Criticism pretends to believe, because they regard the proletarians as *gods*. Rather the contrary. Since in the fully-formed proletariat the abstraction of all humanity, even of the *semblance* of humanity, is practically complete; since the conditions of life of the proletariat sum up all the conditions

of life of society today in their most inhuman form; since man has lost himself in the proletariat, yet at the same time has not only gained theoretical consciousness of that loss, but through urgent, no longer removable, no longer disguisable, absolutely imperative *need*—the practical expression of *necessity*—is driven directly to revolt against this inhumanity, it follows that the proletariat can and must emancipate itself. But it cannot emancipate itself without abolishing the conditions of its own life. It cannot abolish the conditions of its own life without abolishing *all* the inhuman conditions of life of society today which are summed up in its own situation. Not in vain does it go through the stern but steeling school of *labour*. It is not a question of what this or that proletarian, or even the whole proletariat, at the moment *regards* as its aim. It is a question of *what the proletariat is*, and what, in accordance with this *being*, it will historically be compelled to do. Its aim and historical action is visibly and irrevocably foreshadowed in its own life situation as well as in the whole organisation of bourgeois society today. There is no need to explain here that a large part of the English and French proletariat is already *conscious* of its historic task and is constantly working to develop that consciousness into complete clarity.

“Critical Criticism” can all the less admit this since it has proclaimed itself the exclusive creative element in history. To it belong the historical antitheses, to it belongs the task of abolishing them. That is why it issues the following *notification* through its incarnation, Edgar:

“Education and lack of education, property and absence of property, these *antitheses*, if they are not to *be desecrated*, must *be wholly and entirely the concern of Criticism.*”

Property and absence of property have received metaphysical consecration as Critical speculative antitheses. That is why only the hand of Critical Criticism can touch them without committing a sacrilege. Capitalists and workers must not interfere in their mutual relationship.

Far from having any idea that his Critical conception of antitheses could be touched, that this holy thing could be desecrated, Herr Edgar lets his opponent make an objection that he alone could make to himself.

“Is it then possible,” the imaginary opponent of Critical Criticism asks, “to use other concepts than those already existing—liberty, equality, etc.? I answer” (note Herr Edgar’s answer) “that Greek and Latin perished as soon as the range of thoughts that they served to express was exhausted.”

It is now clear why Critical Criticism does not give a single thought in *German*. The language of its thoughts has not yet come into being in spite of all that Herr Reichardt by his Critical handling of foreign words, Herr Faucher by his handling of English, and Herr Edgar by his handling of French, have done to prepare the *new Critical* language.

Characterising Translation No. 2

The Critical Proudhon says:

“The husbandmen divided the land among themselves; equality consecrated only possession; on this occasion it consecrated property.”

The Critical Proudhon makes landed property arise simultaneously with the division of land. He effects the transition from possession to property by the expression “on this occasion”.

The real Proudhon says:

“Husbandry was the basis of *possession of the land*.... It was not enough to ensure for the tiller the fruit of his labour without ensuring for him at the same time the instruments of production. To guard the weaker against the encroachments of the stronger ... it was felt necessary to establish permanent demarcation lines between owners.”

On this occasion, therefore, it is *possession* that equality consecrated in the first place.

“Every year saw the population increase and the greed of the settlers grow; it was thought ambition should be checked by new insuperable barriers. Thus the land became property owing to the need for equality ... doubtless the division was never geographically equal ... but the principle nevertheless remained the same; equality had consecrated possession, equality consecrated property.”

According to the Critical Proudhon

“the ancient founders of property, absorbed with concern for their needs, overlooked the fact that to the right of property corresponded at the same time the right to alienate, to sell, to give away, to acquire and to lose, which destroyed the equality from which they started out.”

According to the real Proudhon it was not that the founders of property overlooked this course of its development in their concern for their needs. It was rather that they did not foresee it; but even if they had been able to foresee it, their actual need would have gained the upper hand. Besides, the real Proudhon is too mass-minded to counterpose the right to alienate, sell, etc., to the “*right of property*”, i.e., to counterpose the varieties to the species. He contrasts the “right to *keep* one’s heritage” to the “right to *alienate* it, etc.”, which constitutes a real opposition and a real step forward.

Critical Comment No. 3

"On what then does Proudhon base his proof of the impossibility of property? Difficult as it is to believe it—on the same principle of equality!"

A short consideration would have sufficed to arouse the belief of Herr Edgar. He must be aware that Herr Bruno Bauer based all his arguments on "*infinite self-consciousness*" and that he also saw in this principle the creative principle of the gospels which, by their infinite unconsciousness, appear to be in direct contradiction to infinite self-consciousness. In the same way Proudhon conceives equality as the creative principle of private property, which is in direct contradiction to equality. If Herr Edgar compares French *equality* with German "*self-consciousness*" for an instant, he will see that the latter principle expresses *in German*, i.e., in abstract thought, what the former says *in French*, that is, in the language of politics and of thoughtful observation. Self-consciousness is man's equality with himself in pure thought. Equality is man's consciousness of himself in the element of practice, i.e., man's consciousness of other men as his equals and man's attitude to other men as his equals. Equality is the French expression for the unity of human essence, for man's consciousness of his species and his attitude towards his species, for the practical identity of man with man, i.e., for the social or human relation of man to man. Hence, just as destructive criticism in Germany, before it had progressed in *Feuerbach* to the consideration of *real man*, tried to resolve everything definite and existing by the principle of *self-consciousness*, destructive criticism in France tried to do the same by the principle of *equality*.

"Proudhon is angry with philosophy, for which, in itself, we cannot blame him. But why is he angry? Philosophy, he maintains, has not yet been practical enough; it has mounted the high horse of *speculation* and from up there *human beings* have seemed much too small. I think that philosophy is overpractical, i.e., it has so far been nothing but the abstract expression of the existing state of things; it has always been captive to the premises of the existing state of things, which it has accepted as absolute."

The opinion that philosophy is the abstract expression of the existing state of things does not belong originally to Herr Edgar. It belongs to *Feuerbach*, who was the first to describe philosophy as speculative and mystical empiricism and to prove it. But Herr Edgar manages to give this opinion an original, Critical twist. While *Feuerbach* concludes that philosophy must come down from the heaven of speculation to the depth of human misery, Herr Edgar, on the contrary, informs us that philosophy is overpractical. However, it seems rather that philosophy, precisely

because it was only the transcendent, abstract expression of the actual state of things, by reason of its transcendentalism and abstraction, by reason of its *imaginary difference* from the world, must have imagined it had left the actual state of things and real human beings far below itself. On the other hand, it seems that because philosophy was not *really* different from the world it could not pronounce any *real judgment* on it, it could not bring any real differentiating force to bear on it and could therefore not interfere *practically*, but had to be satisfied at most with a practice *in abstracto*. Philosophy was overpractical only in the sense that it soared above practice. Critical Criticism, by lumping humanity together in a spiritless mass, gives the most striking proof how infinitely small real human beings seem to speculation. In this the old speculation agrees with Critical Criticism, as the following sentence out of Hegel's *Rechtsphilosophie* shows:

"From the standpoint of needs, it is the concrete object of the idea that is called *man*; therefore what we are concerned with here, and *properly speaking only* here, is man in this sense."^a

In other cases in which speculation speaks of man it does not mean the *concrete*, but the *abstract*, the *idea*, the *spirit*, etc. The way in which philosophy expresses the actual state of things is strikingly exemplified by Herr Faucher in connection with the actual English situation and by Herr Edgar in connection with the actual situation of the French language.

"Thus Proudhon also is practical because, finding that the concept of equality is the basis of the proofs in favour of property, he argues from the same concept against property."

Proudhon here does exactly the same thing as the German critics who, finding that the proofs of the existence of God are based on the idea of man, argue from that idea against the existence of God.

"If the consequences of the principle of equality are more powerful than equality itself, how does Proudhon intend to help that principle to acquire its sudden power?"

Self-consciousness, according to Herr Bruno Bauer, lies at the basis of all religious ideas. It is, he says, the creative principle of the gospels. Why, then, were the consequences of the principle of self-consciousness more powerful than self-consciousness itself? Because, the answer comes after the German fashion, self-consciousness is indeed the creative principle of religious ideas.

^a G.W.F. Hegel, *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts*, § 190.—Ed.

but only as self-consciousness outside itself, in contradiction to itself, alienated and estranged. Self-consciousness that has come to itself, that understands itself, that apprehends its essence, therefore governs the creations of its self-alienation. Proudhon finds himself in exactly the same case, with the difference, of course, that he speaks French whereas we speak German, and he therefore expresses in a French way what we express in a German way.

Proudhon asks himself why equality, although as the creative principle of reason it underlies the institution of property and as the ultimate rational foundation is the basis of all arguments in favour of property, nevertheless does not exist, while its negation, private property, does. He accordingly considers the fact of property in itself. He proves "that, in truth, property, as an institution and a principle, is *impossible*"^a (p. 34), i.e., that it *contradicts itself* and abolishes itself in all points; that, to put it in the German way, it is the existence of alienated, self-contradicting, self-estranged equality. The real state of things in France, like the recognition of this estrangement, suggests correctly to Proudhon the necessity of the real abolition of this estrangement.

While negating private property, Proudhon feels the need to justify the existence of private property *historically*. His argument, like all first arguments of this kind, is pragmatic, i.e., he assumes that earlier generations wished consciously and with reflection to realise in their institutions that equality which for him represents the human essence.

"We always come back to the same thing.... Proudhon writes in the interest of the proletarians."

He does not write in the interest of self-sufficient Criticism or out of any abstract, self-made interest, but out of a mass-type, real, historic interest, an interest that goes beyond *criticism*, that will go as far as a *crisis*. Not only does Proudhon write in the interest of the proletarians, he is himself a proletarian, an *ouvrier*.^b His work is a scientific manifesto of the French proletariat and therefore has quite a different historical significance from that of the literary botch work of any Critical Critic.

"Proudhon writes in the interest of those who have nothing; to have and not to have are for him absolute categories. To have is for him the highest, because at the same time not to have is for him the highest object of thought. Every man ought to

^a "*Est impossible, mathématiquement*" (Proudhon, *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?*, p. 34.)—*Ed.*

^b A worker.—*Ed.*

have, but no more or less than another, Proudhon thinks. But one should bear in mind that of all I have, only what I have exclusively, or what I have more of than other people have, is interesting for me. With equality, both to have and equality itself will be a matter of indifference to me."

According to Herr Edgar, *having* and *not having* are for Proudhon absolute *categories*. Critical Criticism sees nothing but categories everywhere. Thus, according to Herr Edgar, having and not having, wages, salary, want and need, and work to satisfy that need, are nothing but categories.

If society had to free itself only from the *categories* of having and not having, how easy would the "overcoming" and "abolition" of those categories be made for it by any dialectician, even if he were weaker than Herr Edgar! Indeed, Herr Edgar considers this such a trifle that he does not think it worth the trouble to give even an *explanation* of the categories of having and not having as an argument against Proudhon. But not having is not a mere category, it is a most dismal reality; today the man who has nothing is nothing, for he is cut off from existence in general, and still more from a human existence, for the condition of not having is the condition of the complete separation of man from his objectivity. Therefore not having seems quite justified in being the highest object of thought for Proudhon; all the more since so little thought had been given to this subject prior to him and the socialist writers in general. Not having is the most despairing *spiritualism*, a complete unreality of the human being, a complete reality of the dehumanised being, a very positive having, a having of hunger, of cold, of disease, of crime, of debasement, of hebetude, of all inhumanity and abnormality. But every object which for the first time is made the *highest object of thought* with full consciousness of its importance is the *highest object of thought*.

Proudhon's wish to abolish not having and the old way of having is quite identical with his wish to abolish the practically estranged relation of man to his *objective essence* and the *economic* expression of human self-estrangement. But since his criticism of political economy is still captive to the premises of political economy, the re-appropriation of the objective world itself is still conceived in the economic form of *possession*.

Proudhon does not oppose having to not having, as Critical Criticism makes him do; he opposes *possession* to the old way of having, to *private property*. He proclaims possession to be a "*social function*". What is "interesting" in a function, however, is not to "exclude" the other person, but to affirm and to realise the forces of my own being.

Proudhon did not succeed in giving this thought appropriate development. The idea of “*equal possession*” is the economic and therefore itself still estranged expression for the fact that the *object as being for man*, as the *objective being of man*, is at the same time the *existence of man for other men*, his *human relation to other men*, the *social behaviour of man to man*. Proudhon abolishes economic estrangement *within* economic estrangement.

Characterising Translation No. 3

The Critical Proudhon has a *Critical property-owner*, too, according to whose

“*own admission those who had to work for him lost what he appropriated*”.

The mass-type Proudhon says to the mass-type property-owner:

“You have worked! Ought you never to have let others work for you? How, then, have they lost while working for you, what you were able to acquire while not working for them?”

By “*richesse naturelle*”,^a the Critical Proudhon makes Say understand “*natural possessions*” although Say, to preclude any error, states explicitly in the *Épitomé* to his *Traité d'économie politique*^b that by *richesse* he understands neither property nor possession, but a “*sum of values*”. Of course, the Critical Proudhon reforms Say just as he himself is reformed by Herr Edgar. He makes Say “*infer immediately a right to take a field as property*” because land is easier to appropriate than air or water. But Say, far from inferring from the greater possibility of appropriating land a property *right* to it, says instead quite explicitly:

“*Les droits des propriétaires de terres—remontent à une spoliation.*”^c (*Traité d'économie politique*, édition III, t. I., p. 136, Nota.)

That is why, in Say's opinion, there must be “*concours de la législation*”^d and “*droit positif*”^e to provide a basis for the *right* to landed property. The real Proudhon does not make Say “*immediately*” *infer* the right of landed property from the easier appropriation of land. He reproaches him with basing himself on possibility *instead of right* and *confusing* the question of possibility with the question of right:

^a “*Natural wealth.*”—*Ed.*

^b *Treatise of Political Economy.*—*Ed.*

^c “*The rights of landed proprietors are to be traced to plunder.*”—*Ed.*

^d “*Co-operation of legislation.*”—*Ed.*

^e “*Positive right.*”—*Ed.*

"Say prend la possibilité *pour* le droit. On ne demande pas pourquoi la terre a été plutôt appropriée que la mer et les airs; on veut savoir, en vertu de quel *droit* l'homme s'est approprié cette richesse."^a

The Critical Proudhon continues:

"The *only* remark to be made on this is that with the appropriation of a piece of land the other elements—air, water and fire—are also appropriated: *terra, aqua, aère et igne interdicti sumus.*"^b

Far from making "*only*" this remark, the real Proudhon says, on the contrary, that he draws "attention" to the appropriation of air and water incidentally (*en passant*). The Critical Proudhon makes an unaccountable use of the Roman formula of banishment. He forgets to say who the "*we*" are who have been banished. The real Proudhon addresses the non-property-owners:

"Proletarians ... property *excommunicates* us: *terra, etc. interdicti sumus.*"

The Critical Proudhon polemises against Charles Comte as follows:

"Charles Comte thinks that, in order to live, man needs air, food and clothing. Some of these things, like air and water, are inexhaustible and therefore always remain common property; but others are available in smaller quantities and become private property. Charles Comte therefore bases his proof on the concepts of limitedness and unlimitedness; he would perhaps have come to a different conclusion had he made the concepts of dispensability and indispensability his main categories."

How childish the Critical Proudhon's polemic is! He expects Charles Comte to give up the categories he uses for his proof and to jump over to others so as to come, not to his own conclusions, but "*perhaps*" to those of the Critical Proudhon.

The real Proudhon does not make any such demands on Charles Comte; he does not dispose of him with a "*perhaps*", but defeats him with his own categories.

Charles Comte, Proudhon says, proceeds from the indispensability of air, food, and, in certain climates, clothing, not in order to live, but in order not to stop living. Hence (according to Charles Comte) in order to maintain himself, man constantly needs to appropriate things of various kinds. These things do not all exist in the same proportion.

"The light of the heavenly bodies, air and water exist in such quantities that man can neither increase nor decrease them appreciably; hence everyone can

^a "Say takes possibility *for* right. The question is not why land has been appropriated rather than sea or air, but by what *right* man has appropriated this wealth."—*Ed.*

^b We are banished from land, water, air and fire.—*Ed.*

appropriate as much of them as his needs require, *without prejudice to the enjoyment of others*".^a

Proudhon proceeds from Comte's own definitions. First of all he proves to him that land is also an object of primary necessity, the usufruct of which must therefore remain free to everyone, within the limits of Comte's clause, namely: "*without prejudice to the enjoyment of others*." Why then has land become private property? Charles Comte answers: because it is *not unlimited*. He should have concluded, on the contrary, that because land is *limited* it may not be appropriated. The appropriation of air and water causes no prejudice to anybody because, as they are unlimited, there is always enough left. The arbitrary appropriation of land, on the other hand, prejudices the enjoyment of others precisely because the land is *limited*. The use of the land must therefore be regulated in the interests of *all*. Charles Comte's method of proving refutes his own thesis.

"Charles Comte, so Proudhon" (the Critical one, of course) "reasons, proceeds from the view that a nation can be the owner of a land; yet if property involves the right to use and misuse—*jus utendi et abutendi re sua*—even a nation cannot be adjudged the right to use and misuse a land."

The real Proudhon does not speak of *jus utendi et abutendi* that the right of property "*involves*". He is too mass-minded to speak of a right of property that the right of property involves. *Jus utendi et abutendi re sua* is, in fact, the right of property itself. Hence Proudhon directly refuses a people the right of property over its territory. To those who find that exaggerated, he replies that in all epochs the imagined right of national property gave rise to suzerainty, tribute, royal prerogatives, *corvée*, etc.

The real Proudhon reasons against Charles Comte as follows: Comte wishes to expound how property arises and he begins with the hypothesis of a nation as owner. He thus falls into a *petitio principii*.^b He makes the state sell lands, he lets industrialists buy those estates, that is to say, he presupposes the *property* relations that he wishes to prove.

The Critical Proudhon scraps the French *decimal system*. He keeps the *franc* but replaces the *centime* by the "*Dreier*".^c

"If I cede a piece of land, Proudhon" (the Critical one) "continues, I not only rob myself of one harvest; I deprive my children and children's children of a

^a The quotation from Comte's *Traité de la propriété* is given according to Proudhon's *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?* p. 93.—*Ed.*

^b The fallacy of seeking to prove a conclusion by presupposing it as the premise.—*Ed.*

^c A small coin worth three pfennigs.—*Ed.*

lasting good. Land has value not only today, it has also the value of its capacity and its future."

The real Proudhon does not speak of the fact that land has value not only today but also tomorrow: he contrasts the full present value to the value of its capacity and its future, which depends on my skill in exploiting the land. He says:

"Destroy the land, or, what comes to the same thing for you, sell it; you not only deprive yourself of one, two or more harvests; you annihilate all the produce you could have obtained from it, you, your children and your children's children."

For Proudhon the question is not one of stressing the contrast between one harvest and the lasting good—the money I get for the field can, as capital, also become a "lasting good"—but the contrast between the present value and the value the land can acquire through continuous cultivation.

"The new value, Charles Comte says, that I give to a thing by my work is my property. Proudhon" (the Critical one) "thinks he can refute him in the following way: *Then* a man must cease to be a property-owner as soon as he ceases to work. Ownership of the product can by no means involve ownership of the material from which the product was made."

The real Proudhon says:

"Let the worker appropriate the products of his work, but I do not understand how ownership of the products involves ownership of the matter. Does the fisherman who manages to catch more fish than the others on the same bank become by this skill the owner of the place where he fishes? Was the skill of a hunter ever considered a title to ownership of the game in a canton? The same applies to agriculture. In order to transform *possession* into *property*, another condition is necessary besides work, or a man would cease to be a property-owner as soon as he ceased to be a worker."

Cessante causa cessat effectus.^a When the owner is owner *only* as a worker, he ceases to be an owner as soon as he ceases to be a worker.

"According to *law*, it is *prescription* which creates ownership; *work* is only the perceptible sign, the material act by which occupation is *manifested*."

"The system of appropriation through work," Proudhon goes on, "is therefore *contrary to law*; and when the supporters of that system put it forward as an explanation of the laws they are *contradicting themselves*."

To say further, according to this opinion, that the cultivation of the land, for example, "creates full ownership of the same" is a *petitio principii*. It is a fact that a new productive capacity of the matter has been created. But what has to be proved is that ownership of the matter itself has thereby been created. Man has not created the matter itself. And he cannot even create any productive capacity if the matter does not exist beforehand.

^a When the cause ceases, the effect ceases.—*Ed.*

The Critical Proudhon makes *Gracchus Babeuf* a partisan of *freedom*, but for the mass-minded Proudhon he is a partisan of *equality* (*partisan de l'égalité*).

The *Critical Proudhon*, who wanted to estimate *Homer's* fee for the *Iliad*, says:

"The fee which I pay Homer should be equal to what he *gives me*. But how is the value of what he gives to be determined?"

The Critical Proudhon is too superior to the trifles of political economy to know that the *value* of an object and what that object *gives* somebody else are two different things. The real Proudhon says:

"The fee of the poet should be equal to his *product*: what then is the value of that product?"

The real Proudhon supposes that the *Iliad* has an infinite *price* (or exchange value, *prix*), while the Critical Proudhon supposes that it has an infinite *value*. The real Proudhon counterposes the value of the *Iliad*, its *value* in the *economic* sense (*valeur intrinsèque*), to its exchange value (*valeur échangeable*); the Critical Proudhon counterposes its "value for exchange" to its "intrinsic value", i.e., its value as a poem.

The real Proudhon says:

"Between material reward and talent there is no common measure. In *this* respect the situation of all producers is the same. Consequently any comparison between them, any classification according to fortune is impossible." ("Entre une récompense matérielle et le talent il n'existe pas de commune mesure; sous ce rapport la condition de tous les producteurs est égale; conséquemment toute comparaison entre eux et toute distinction de fortunes est impossible.")

The Critical Proudhon says:

"*Relatively*, the position of all producers is the same. Talent cannot be weighed materially.... Any comparison of the producers among themselves, any *external distinction* is impossible."

In the Critical Proudhon we read that

"the man of science must *feel* himself *equal* in society, because his talent and his insight are *only* a product of the insight of society".

The real Proudhon does not speak anywhere about the feelings of talent. He says that talent must lower itself to the level of society. Nor does he at all assert that the man of talent is *only* a product of society. On the contrary, he says:

"The man of talent has contributed to produce in himself a useful instrument.... There exist in him a free worker *and* an accumulated social capital."

The Critical Proudhon goes on to say:

“Besides, he must be thankful to society for releasing him from other work so that he can apply himself to science.”

The real Proudhon nowhere resorts to the gratitude of the man of talent. He says:

“The artist, the scientist, the poet, receive their just reward by the mere fact that society allows them to apply themselves exclusively to science and art.”

Finally, the Critical Proudhon achieves the miracle of making a society of 150 workers able to maintain a “*marshal*” and, therefore, probably, an *army*. In the real Proudhon the marshal is a “*farrier*” (*maréchal*).

Critical Comment No. 4

“If he” (Proudhon) “retains the concept of wages, if he sees in society an institution that gives us work and pays us for it, he has all the less right to recognise time as the measure for payment as he but shortly before, agreeing with *Hugo Grotius*, professed that time has no bearing on the *validity* of an object.”

This is the only point on which Critical Criticism attempts to solve its problem and to prove to Proudhon that from the standpoint of political economy he is arguing wrongly against political economy. Here Criticism *disgraces* itself in truly Critical fashion.

Proudhon agrees with *Hugo Grotius* in arguing that *prescription* is no title to change *possession* into *property* or a “*legal principle*” into another principle, any more than time can change the truth that the three angles of a triangle are together equal to two right angles into the truth that they are equal to three right angles.

“Never,” exclaims Proudhon, “will you succeed in making length of time, which of itself creates nothing, changes nothing, modifies nothing, able to *change* the *user* into a *proprietor*.”

Herr Edgar’s conclusion is: since Proudhon said that mere time cannot *change* one legal principle into another, that by itself it cannot change or modify anything, he is inconsistent when he makes *labour time* the measure of the economic *value* of the product of labour. Herr Edgar achieves this Critically Critical remark by translating “*valeur*”^a by “*Geltung*”^b so that he can use the word for validity of a legal principle in the same sense as for the commercial value of a product of labour. He achieves it by identifying empty length of time with time filled with labour. Had

^a Value.—*Ed.*

^b Validity.—*Ed.*

Proudhon said that time cannot change a fly into an elephant, Critical Criticism could have said with the same justification: he has therefore no right to make labour time the measure of wages.

Even Critical Criticism must be capable of grasping that the *labour time expended* on the production of an object is included in the *cost of production* of that object, that the *cost of production* of an object is what it *costs*, and therefore what it can be *sold* for, abstraction being made of the influence of *competition*. Besides the labour time and the material of labour, economists include in the cost of production the rent paid to the owner of the land, interest and the profit of the capitalist. The latter are excluded by Proudhon because he excludes private property. Hence there remain only the labour time and the expenses. By making labour time, the immediate existence of human activity as activity, the measure of wages and the determinant of the value of the product, Proudhon makes the human side the decisive factor. In old political economy, on the other hand, the decisive factor was the material power of capital and of landed property. In other words, Proudhon reinstates man in his rights, but still in an economic and therefore contradictory way. How right he is from the standpoint of political economy can be seen from the fact that *Adam Smith*, the founder of modern political economy, in the very first pages of his book, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, develops the idea that *before* the invention of private property, that is to say, presupposing the *non-existence of private property*, *labour time* was the measure of *wages* and of the *value of the product of labour*, which was not yet distinguished from wages.

But even let Critical Criticism suppose for an instant that Proudhon did not proceed from the premise of wages. Does it believe that the *time* which the production of an object requires will *ever* not be an essential factor in the “*validity*” of the object? Does it believe that time will lose its *costliness*?

As far as immediate material production is concerned, the decision whether an object is to be produced or not, i.e., the decision on the *value* of the object, will depend essentially on the labour time required for its production. For it depends on time whether society has time to develop in a human way.

And even as far as *intellectual* production is concerned, must I not, if I proceed reasonably in other respects, consider the time necessary for the production of an intellectual work when I determine its scope, its character and its plan? Otherwise I risk at least that the object that is in my idea will never become an object

in reality, and can therefore acquire only the value of an imaginary object, i.e., an *imaginary value*.

The criticism of political economy from the standpoint of political economy recognises all the essential determinants of human activity, but only in an estranged, alienated form. Here, for example, it converts the importance of time for *human labour* into its importance for *wages*, for wage-labour.

Herr Edgar continues:

“In order to force talent to accept that measure, Proudhon *misuses* the concept of *free contract* and asserts that society and its individual members have the right to reject the products of talent.”

Among the *followers of Fourier and Saint-Simon*, talent puts forward exaggerated *fee claims* on an economic basis and makes its imagined notion of its infinite value the measure of the *exchange value* of its products. Proudhon answers it in exactly the same way as political economy answers any claim for a price much higher than the so-called natural price, that is, higher than the cost of production of the object offered. He answers by freedom of contract. But Proudhon does not *misuse* this relation in the sense of political economy; on the contrary, he assumes that to be real which the economists consider to be only nominal and illusory—the *freedom* of the contracting parties.

Characterising Translation No. 4

The Critical Proudhon finally reforms *French society* by as deep a transformation of the French proletarians as of the French bourgeoisie.

He denies the French proletarians “*strength*” because the real Proudhon reproaches them with a lack of *virtue (vertu)*. He makes their *skill* in work problematic—“you are *perhaps* skilled in work”—because the real Proudhon unconditionally recognises it (“*prompts au travail vous êtes,*”^a etc.). He converts the French bourgeoisie into *dull burghers* whereas the real Proudhon counterposes the ignoble bourgeois (*bourgeois ignobles*) to the blemished nobles (*nobles flétris*). He converts the bourgeois from happy-medium burghers (*bourgeois juste-milieu*)¹⁸ into “our *good burghers*”, for which the French bourgeoisie can be grateful. Hence, where the real Proudhon says the “*ill will*” of the French bourgeoisie (*la malveillance de nos bourgeois*) is growing, the Critical

^a “You are smart at work.”—Ed.

Proudhon consistently makes the “carefreeness of our burghers” grow. The real Proudhon’s bourgeois is so far from being carefree that he calls out to himself: “*N’ayons pas peur! N’ayons pas peur!*”^a Those are the words of a man who wishes to reason himself out of fear and worry.

By creating the Critical Proudhon through its translation of the real Proudhon, Critical Criticism has revealed to the Mass what a Critically perfect translation is. It has given directions for “translation as it ought to be”. It is therefore rightly against bad, mass-type translations.

“The German public wants the booksellers’ wares ridiculously cheap, so the publisher needs a cheap translation; the translator does not want to starve at his work, he cannot even perform it with mature reflection” (with all the tranquillity of knowledge) “because the publisher must anticipate rivals by quick delivery of translations; even the translator has to fear competition, has to fear that someone else will produce the ware cheaper and quicker; he therefore dictates his manuscript offhand to some poor scribe—as quickly as he can in order not to pay the scribe his hourly wage for nothing. He is more than happy when he can next day adequately satisfy the harassing type-setter. For the rest, the translations with which we are flooded are but a manifestation of the present-day *impotence* of German literature”, etc. (*Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, Heft VIII, p. 54.¹⁹)

Critical Comment No. 5

“The proof of the impossibility of property that Proudhon draws from the fact that mankind ruins itself particularly by the interest and profit system and by the disproportion between consumption and production lacks its counterpart, namely, the proof that private property is historically possible.”

Critical Criticism has the fortunate instinct not to go into Proudhon’s reasoning on the interest and profit system, etc., i.e., into the most important part of his argument. The reason is that on this point not even a semblance of criticism of Proudhon can be offered without absolutely positive knowledge of the movement of private property. Critical Criticism tries to make up for its impotence by observing that Proudhon has not proved the historical possibility of property. Why does Criticism, which has nothing but words to give, expect others to give it *everything*?

“Proudhon proves the impossibility of property by the fact that the worker cannot buy back the product of his work out of his wage. Proudhon does not give an exhaustive proof of this by expounding the essence of capital. The worker cannot buy back his product because it is always a joint product, whereas he is never anything but an individual paid man.”

Herr Edgar, in contrast to Proudhon’s deduction, could have expressed himself still more exhaustively to the effect that the

^a “Let us not be afraid! Let us not be afraid!” — *Ed.*

worker cannot buy back his product because in general he must *buy* it *back*. The definition of buying already implies that he regards his product as an object that is no longer his, an estranged object. Among other things, Herr Edgar's exhaustive argument does not exhaust the question why the capitalist, who himself is *nothing* but an *individual* man, and what is more, a man *paid* by profit and interest, can buy back not only the product of labour, but still more than this product. To explain this Herr Edgar would have to explain the relationship between labour and capital, that is, to expound the essence of capital.

The above quotation from Criticism shows most palpably how Critical Criticism immediately makes use of what it has learnt from a writer to pass it off as wisdom it has itself discovered and use it with a Critical twist against the same writer. For it is from Proudhon himself that Critical Criticism drew the argument that it says Proudhon did not give and that Herr Edgar did. Proudhon says:

"*Divide et impera* ... separate the workers from one another, and it is quite possible that the daily wage paid to each one may exceed the value of each individual product; but that is not the point at issue.... Although you have paid for all the individual powers you have still not paid for the collective power."

Proudhon was the *first* to draw attention to the fact that the sum of the wages of the individual workers, even if each individual labour be paid for completely, does not pay for the collective power objectified in its product, that therefore the worker is not paid as a *part* of the *collective labour power* [*gemeinschaftlichen Arbeitskraft*]. Herr Edgar twists this into the assertion that the worker is nothing but an individual paid man. Critical Criticism thus opposes a *general* thought of Proudhon's to the further *concrete* development that Proudhon himself gives to the same thought. It takes possession of this thought after the fashion of Criticism and expresses the secret of *Critical socialism* in the following sentence:

"The modern worker *thinks* only of himself, i.e., he allows himself to be paid only for his own person. It is he *himself* who fails to take into account the enormous, the immeasurable power which arises from his co-operation with other powers."

According to Critical Criticism, the whole evil lies only in the workers' "*thinking*". It is true that the English and French workers have formed associations in which they exchange opinions not only on their immediate needs as *workers*, but on their needs as *human beings*. In their associations, moreover, they show a very

thorough and comprehensive consciousness of the "enormous" and "immeasurable" power which arises from their co-operation. But these *mass-minded*, communist workers, employed, for instance, in the Manchester or Lyons workshops, do not believe that by "*pure thinking*" they will be able to argue away their industrial masters and their own practical debasement. They are most painfully aware of the *difference* between *being* and *thinking*, between *consciousness* and *life*. They know that property, capital, money, wage-labour and the like are no ideal figments of the brain but very practical, very objective products of their self-estrangement and that therefore they must be abolished in a practical, objective way for man to become man not only in *thinking*, in *consciousness*, but in *mass being*, in *life*. Critical Criticism, on the contrary, teaches them that they cease in reality to be wage-workers if in thinking they abolish the thought of wage-labour; if in thinking they cease to regard themselves as wage-workers and, in accordance with that extravagant notion, no longer let themselves be paid for their person. As absolute idealists, as ethereal beings, they will then naturally be able to live on the ether of pure thought. Critical Criticism teaches them that they abolish real capital by overcoming in *thinking* the category Capital, that they *really* change and transform themselves into real human beings by changing their "*abstract ego*" in consciousness and scorning as an un-Critical operation all *real* change of their real existence, of the real conditions of their existence, that is to say, of their *real ego*. The "*spirit*", which sees in reality only categories, naturally reduces all human activity and practice to the dialectical process of thought of Critical Criticism. That is what distinguishes *its* socialism from *mass-type* socialism and communism.

After his great argumentation, Herr Edgar must, of course, declare Proudhon's criticism "devoid of consciousness".

"Proudhon, *however*, wishes to be *practical too*." "He thinks he has grasped." "And nevertheless," cries the tranquillity of knowledge triumphantly, "we cannot even now credit him with the *tranquillity of knowledge*." "We quote a few passages to show how little he has thought out his attitude to society."

Later we shall also quote a few passages from the works of Critical Criticism (see the *Bank for the Poor* and the *Model Farm*)^a to show that it has not yet become acquainted with the most elementary economic relationships, let alone thought them out, and hence with its characteristic Critical tact has felt itself called upon to pass judgment on Proudhon.

^a See pp. 197-200 of this volume.—Ed.

Now that Critical Criticism as the tranquillity of knowledge has “made” all the mass-type “antitheses its concern”, has mastered all reality in the form of categories and dissolved all human activity into speculative dialectics, we shall see it produce the world again out of speculative dialectics. It goes without saying that if the miracles of the Critically speculative creation of the world are not to be “desecrated”, they can be presented to the profane Mass only in the form of *mysteries*. Critical Criticism therefore appears in the incarnation of Vishnu-Szeliga as a *mystery-monger*.

Chapter V

“CRITICAL CRITICISM” AS A MYSTERY-MONGER, OR “CRITICAL CRITICISM” AS HERR SZELIGA²⁰

“Critical Criticism” in its *Szeliga-Vishnu* incarnation provides an apotheosis of the *Mystères de Paris*. Eugène Sue is proclaimed a “Critical Critic”. Hearing this, he may exclaim like Molière’s *Bourgeois gentilhomme*:

“Par ma foi, il y a plus de quarante ans que je dis de la prose, sans que j’en susse rien: et je vous suis le plus obligé du monde de m’avoir appris cela.”^a

Herr Szeliga prefaces his criticism with an *aesthetic* prologue. “The aesthetic prologue” gives the following explanation of the general meaning of the “Critical” epic and in particular of the *Mystères de Paris*:

“The epic gives rise to the thought that the present in itself is nothing, and not only” (*nothing* and not only!) “the eternal *boundary* between *past* and *future*, but” (nothing, and not only, but) “but the *gap* that separates *immortality* from *transience* and *must* continually be *filled*.... *Such* is the *general meaning* of the *Mystères de Paris*.”

The “aesthetic prologue” further asserts that “if the *Critic* wished he could also be a *poet*”.

The whole of Herr Szeliga’s criticism will prove that assertion. It is “*poetic fiction*” in every respect.

It is also a product of “*free art*” according to the definition of the latter given in the “aesthetic prologue”—it “*invents something quite new, something that absolutely never existed before*”.

Finally, it is even a *Critical epic*, for it is “the *gap* that separates *immortality*”—Herr Szeliga’s *Critical Criticism*—from “*transience*”—Eugène Sue’s novel—and “*must continually be filled*”.

^a “Faith, I have been speaking prose for more than forty years without knowing it. I am infinitely grateful to you for telling me so.” (Molière, *Bourgeois gentilhomme*, Act II, Scene 6.)—*Ed.*

1) "THE MYSTERY OF DEGENERACY IN CIVILISATION"
AND "THE MYSTERY OF RIGHTLESSNESS IN THE STATE"

Feuerbach, we know, conceived the Christian ideas of the Incarnation, the Trinity, Immortality, etc., as the mystery of the Incarnation, the mystery of the Trinity, the mystery of Immortality. Herr Szeliga conceives all present world conditions as mysteries. But whereas *Feuerbach* disclosed *real mysteries*, Herr *Szeliga* makes *mysteries* out of real *trivialities*. His art is not that of disclosing what is hidden, but of hiding what is disclosed.

Thus he proclaims as *mysteries* degeneracy (criminals) within civilisation and rightlessness and inequality in the state. This means that socialist literature, which has revealed these mysteries, is still a mystery to Herr Szeliga, or that he wants to convert the best-known findings of that literature into a private mystery of "Critical Criticism".

We therefore need not go more deeply into Herr Szeliga's discourse on these mysteries; we shall merely draw attention to a few of the most brilliant points.

"Before the law and the judge everything is *equal*, the high and the low, the rich and the poor. This proposition stands at the head of the credo of *the state*."

Of the state? The credo of most states starts, on the contrary, by making the high and the low, the rich and the poor *unequal* before the *law*.

"The gem-cutter Morel in his naive probity most clearly expresses the mystery" (the mystery of the antithesis of poor and rich) "when he says: If only the rich knew! If only the rich knew! The misfortune is that they do not know what poverty is."

Herr Szeliga does not know that Eugène Sue commits an *anachronism* out of courtesy to the French bourgeoisie when he puts the motto of the burghers of Louis XIV's time "*Ah! si le roi le savait!*"^a in a modified form: "*Ah! si le riche le savait!*"^b into the mouth of the working man Morel who lived at the time of the *Charte vérité*.²¹ In England and France, at least, this *naive* relation between rich and poor has ceased to exist. There the scientific representatives of wealth, the economists, have spread a very detailed understanding of the physical and moral misery of poverty. They have made up for that by proving that misery must remain because the present state of things must remain. In their solicitude they have even calculated the *proportions* in which the

^a "Ah! if the king knew it!"—*Ed.*

^b "Ah! if the rich knew it!"—*Ed.*

poor must be reduced in number by deaths for the good of the rich and for their own welfare.

If Eugène Sue depicts the taverns, hide-outs and language of *criminals*, Herr Szeliga discloses the “mystery” that what the “author” wanted was not to depict that language or those hide-outs, but

“to teach us the mystery of the mainsprings of evil, etc.” “It is precisely in the most crowded places ... that criminals feel *at home*.”

What would a natural scientist say if one were to prove to him that the bee’s cell does not interest him as a bee’s cell, that it has no mystery for one who has not studied it, because the bee “feels at home precisely” in the open air and on the flower? The hide-outs of the criminals and their language reflect the character of the criminal, they are part of his existence, their description is part of his description just as the description of the *petite maison* is part of the description of the *femme galante*.

For Parisians in general and even for the Paris police the hide-outs of criminals are such a “mystery” that at this very moment broad light streets are being laid out in the *Cité* to give the police access to them.

Finally, Eugène Sue himself states that in the descriptions mentioned above he was counting “*sur la curiosité craintive*”^a of his readers. M. Eugène Sue has counted on the timid curiosity of his readers in all his novels. It is sufficient to recall *Atar Gull*, *Salamandre*, *Plick and Plock*, etc.

2) THE MYSTERY OF SPECULATIVE CONSTRUCTION

The mystery of the Critical presentation of the *Mystères de Paris* is the mystery of *speculative*, of *Hegelian construction*. Once Herr Szeliga has proclaimed that “degeneracy within civilisation” and rightlessness in the state are “mysteries”, i.e., has dissolved them in the category “mystery”, he lets “mystery” begin its *speculative career*. A few words will suffice to characterise speculative construction *in general*. Herr Szeliga’s treatment of the *Mystères de Paris* will give the application *in detail*.

If from real apples, pears, strawberries and almonds I form the general idea “*Fruit*”, if I go further and *imagine* that my abstract idea “*Fruit*”, derived from real fruit, is an entity existing outside me, is indeed the *true* essence of the pear, the apple, etc., then—

^a On the timid curiosity.—*Ed.*

in the *language of speculative* philosophy—I am declaring that “*Fruit*” is the “*Substance*” of the pear, the apple, the almond, etc. I am saying, therefore, that to be a pear is not essential to the pear, that to be an apple is not essential to the apple; that what is essential to these things is not their real existence, perceptible to the senses, but the essence that I have abstracted from them and then foisted on them, the essence of my idea—“*Fruit*”. I therefore declare apples, pears, almonds, etc., to be mere forms of existence, *modi*, of “*Fruit*”. My finite understanding supported by my senses does of course *distinguish* an apple from a pear and a pear from an almond, but my speculative reason declares these sensuous differences inessential and irrelevant. It sees in the apple *the same* as in the pear, and in the pear the same as in the almond, namely “*Fruit*”. Particular real fruits are no more than *semblances* whose true essence is “*the substance*”—“*Fruit*”.

By this method one attains no particular *wealth of definition*. The mineralogist whose whole science was limited to the statement that all minerals are really “*the Mineral*” would be a mineralogist only in *his imagination*. For every mineral the speculative mineralogist says “*the Mineral*”, and his science is reduced to repeating this word as many times as there are real minerals.

Having reduced the different real fruits to the *one* “fruit” of abstraction—“*the Fruit*”, speculation must, in order to attain some semblance of real content, try somehow to find its way back from “*the Fruit*”, from the *Substance* to the *diverse*, ordinary real fruits, the pear, the apple, the almond, etc. It is as hard to produce real fruits from the abstract idea “*the Fruit*” as it is easy to produce this abstract idea from real fruits. Indeed, it is impossible to arrive at the *opposite* of an abstraction without *relinquishing* the abstraction.

The speculative philosopher therefore relinquishes the abstraction “*the Fruit*”, but in a *speculative, mystical* fashion—with the appearance of *not* relinquishing it. Thus it is really only in appearance that he rises above his abstraction. He argues somewhat as follows:

If apples, pears, almonds and strawberries are really nothing but “*the Substance*”, “*the Fruit*”, the question arises: Why does “*the Fruit*” manifest itself to me sometimes as an apple, sometimes as a pear, sometimes as an almond? Why this *semblance of diversity* which so obviously contradicts my speculative conception of *Unity*, “*the Substance*”, “*the Fruit*”?

This, answers the speculative philosopher, is because “*the Fruit*” is not dead, undifferentiated, motionless, but a living, self-

differentiating, moving essence. The diversity of the ordinary fruits is significant not only for *my* sensuous understanding, but also for “*the Fruit*” itself and for speculative reason. The different ordinary fruits are different manifestations of the life of the “*one Fruit*”; they are crystallisations of “*the Fruit*” itself. Thus in the apple “*the Fruit*” gives itself an apple-like existence, in the pear a pear-like existence. We must therefore no longer say, as one might from the standpoint of the Substance: a pear is “*the Fruit*”, an apple is “*the Fruit*”, an almond is “*the Fruit*”, but rather “*the Fruit*” presents itself as a pear, “*the Fruit*” presents itself as an apple, “*the Fruit*” presents itself as an almond; and the differences which distinguish apples, pears and almonds from one another are the self-differentiations of “*the Fruit*” and make the particular fruits different members of the life-process of “*the Fruit*”. Thus “*the Fruit*” is no longer an empty undifferentiated unity; it is oneness as *allness*, as “*totality*” of fruits, which constitute an “*organically linked series of members*”. In every member of that series “*the Fruit*” gives itself a more developed, more explicit existence, until finally, as the “*summary*” of all fruits, it is at the same time the living *unity* which contains all those fruits dissolved in itself just as it produces them from within itself, just as, for instance, all the limbs of the body are constantly dissolved in and constantly produced out of the blood.

We see that if the Christian religion knows only *one* Incarnation of God, speculative philosophy has as many incarnations as there are things, just as it has here in every fruit an incarnation of the Substance, of the Absolute Fruit. The main interest for the speculative philosopher is therefore to produce the *existence* of the real ordinary fruits and to say in some mysterious way that there are apples, pears, almonds and raisins. But the apples, pears, almonds and raisins that we rediscover in the speculative world are nothing but *semblances* of apples, *semblances* of pears, *semblances* of almonds and *semblances* of raisins, for they are moments in the life of “*the Fruit*”, this abstract *creation of the mind*, and therefore themselves abstract *creations of the mind*. Hence what is delightful in this speculation is to rediscover all the real fruits there, but as fruits which have a higher mystical significance, which have grown out of the ether of your brain and not out of the material earth, which are incarnations of “*the Fruit*”, of the *Absolute Subject*. When you return from the abstraction, the *supernatural* creation of the mind, “*the Fruit*”, to real *natural* fruits, you give on the contrary the natural fruits a supernatural significance and transform them into sheer abstractions. Your main interest is then to point out the

unity of “the Fruit” in all the manifestations of its life—the apple, the pear, the almond—that is, to show the *mystical interconnection* between these fruits, how in each one of them “the Fruit” realises itself by *degrees* and *necessarily* progresses, for instance, from its existence as a raisin to its existence as an almond. Hence the value of the ordinary fruits *no longer* consists in their *natural* qualities, *but* in their *speculative* quality, which gives each of them a definite place in the life-process of “the Absolute Fruit”.

The ordinary man does not think he is saying anything extraordinary when he states that there are apples and pears. But when the philosopher expresses their existence in the speculative way he says something *extraordinary*. He performs a *miracle* by producing the real *natural objects*, the apple, the pear, etc., out of the unreal *creation of the mind* “the Fruit”, i.e., by *creating* those fruits out of his *own abstract reason*, which he considers as an Absolute Subject outside himself, represented here as “the Fruit”. And in regard to every object the existence of which he expresses, he accomplishes an act of creation.

It goes without saying that the speculative philosopher accomplishes this continuous creation only by presenting universally known qualities of the apple, the pear, etc., which exist in reality, as determining features *invented* by him, by giving the *names* of the real things to what abstract reason alone can create, to abstract formulas of reason, finally, by declaring his *own* activity, by which *he passes* from the idea of an apple to the idea of a pear, to be the *self-activity* of the Absolute Subject, “the Fruit”.

In the speculative way of speaking, this operation is called comprehending *Substance* as *Subject*, as an *inner process*, as an *Absolute Person*, and this comprehension constitutes the essential character of *Hegel's* method.

These preliminary remarks were necessary to make Herr Szeliga intelligible. Only now, after dissolving real relations, e.g., law and civilisation, in the category of mystery and thereby making “*Mystery*” into Substance, does he rise to the true speculative, *Hegelian* height and transforms “*Mystery*” into a self-existing Subject *incarnating* itself in real situations and persons so that the manifestations of its life are countesses, marquises, grisettes, porters, notaries, charlatans, and love intrigues, balls, wooden doors, etc. Having produced the category “*Mystery*” out of the real world, he produces the real world out of this category.

The mysteries of *speculative construction* in Herr Szeliga's presentation will be all the *more visibly* disclosed as he has an indisputable *double* advantage over *Hegel*. On the one hand, Hegel with

masterly sophistry is able to present as a process of the imagined creation of the mind itself, of the Absolute Subject, the process by which the philosopher through sensory perception and imagination passes from one subject to another. On the other hand, however, Hegel very often gives a *real* presentation, embracing the *thing* itself, within the *speculative* presentation. This real development *within* the speculative development misleads the reader into considering the speculative development as real and the real as speculative.

With Herr Szeliga both these difficulties vanish. His dialectics have no hypocrisy or dissimulation. He performs his tricks with the most laudable honesty and the most ingenuous straightforwardness. But then he *nowhere* develops any *real content*, so that his speculative construction is free from all disturbing accessories, from all ambiguous disguises, and appeals to the eye in its naked beauty. In Herr Szeliga we also see a brilliant illustration of how speculation on the one hand apparently freely creates its object *a priori* out of itself and, on the other hand, precisely because it wishes to get rid by sophistry of the rational and natural dependence on the *object*, falls into the most irrational and unnatural *bondage* to the object, whose most accidental and most individual attributes it is obliged to construe as absolutely necessary and general.

3) "THE MYSTERY OF EDUCATED SOCIETY"

After leading us through the lowest strata of society, for example through the criminals' taverns, Eugène Sue transports us to "*haute volée*,"^a to a *ball* in the Quartier Saint-Germain.

This *transition* Herr Szeliga construes as follows:

"Mystery tries to evade examination by a ... twist: so far it appeared as the absolutely enigmatic, elusive and negative, in contrast to the true, real and positive; now it withdraws into the latter as its *invisible content*. But by doing so it gives up the unconditional possibility^b of becoming known."

"Mystery" which has so far appeared in contrast to the "true", the "real", the "positive", that is, to law and education, "now withdraws into the latter", that is, into the realm of education. It is certainly a *mystère for Paris*, if not of Paris, that "*haute volée*" is the exclusive realm of education. Herr Szeliga does not pass from the

^a High society.—Ed.

^b "Impossibility" in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*.—Ed.

mysteries of the criminal world to those of aristocratic society; instead, "Mystery" becomes the "invisible content" of educated society, its *real essence*. It is "not a new twist" of Herr Szeliga's designed to enable him to proceed to further examination; "Mystery" itself takes this "new twist" in order to escape examination.

Before really following Eugène Sue where his heart leads him — to an aristocratic ball, Herr Szeliga resorts to the *hypocritical* twists of speculation which makes *a priori* constructions.

"One can naturally foresee what a solid shell 'Mystery' will choose to hide in; it seems, in fact, that it is of insuperable impenetrability ... that ... hence it may be expected that in general ... nevertheless a new attempt to pick out the kernel is here indispensable."

Enough. Herr Szeliga has gone so far that the

"*metaphysical* subject, *Mystery*, now steps forward, light, self-confident and jaunty".

In order now to change aristocratic society into a "mystery", Herr Szeliga gives us a few considerations on "education". He presumes aristocratic society to have all sorts of qualities that no man would look for in it, in order later to find the "mystery" that it does not possess those qualities. Then he presents this discovery as the "mystery" of educated society. Herr Szeliga wonders, for example, whether "general reason" (does he mean speculative logic?) constitutes the content of its "*drawing-room talk*", whether "the *rhythm* and *measure* of love alone makes" it a "harmonious whole", whether "what we call *general education* is the form of the *general*, the *eternal*, the *ideal*", i.e., whether what we call education is a metaphysical illusion. It is not difficult for Herr Szeliga to prophesy *a priori* in answer to his questions:

"It is to be expected, however ... that the answer will be in the negative."

In Eugène Sue's novel, the transition from the low world to the aristocratic world is a normal transition for a novel. The *disguises of Rudolph*, Prince of Geroldstein, give him entry into the lower strata of society as his title gives him access to the highest circles. On his way to the aristocratic ball he is by no means engrossed in the contrasts of contemporary life; it is the contrasts of his *own* disguises that he finds *piquant*. He informs his obedient companions how extraordinarily interesting he finds himself in the various situations.

"Je trouve," he says, "assez de piquant dans ces contrastes: un jour peintre en éventails, m'établant dans un bouge de la rue aux Fèves; ce matin commis

marchand offrant un verre de cassis à Madame Pipelet, et ce soir ... un des privilégiés par la grâce de dieu, qui règnent sur ce monde.”^a

When Critical Criticism is ushered into the ball-room, it sings:

Sense and reason forsake me near,
In the midst of the potentates here!^b

It pours forth in *dithyrambs* as follows:

“Here magic brings the brilliance of the sun at night, the verdure of spring and the splendour of summer in winter. We immediately feel in a mood to believe in the miracle of the divine presence in the breast of man, especially when beauty and grace uphold the conviction that we are in the immediate proximity of ideals.” (!!!)

Inexperienced, credulous *Critical country parson!* Only your Critical ingenuousness can be raised by an elegant Parisian ball-room “to a mood” in which you believe in “the miracle of the divine presence in the breast of man”, and see in Parisian lionesses “immediate ideals” and angels corporeal!

In his *unctuous* naivety the Critical parson listens to the two “most beautiful among the beautiful”, Clémence d’Harville and Countess Sarah MacGregor. One can guess what he wishes to “hear” from them:

“In what way we can be the *blessing* of beloved children and the *fullness* of happiness of a husband”!... “We hark ... we wonder ... we do not trust our ears.”

We secretly feel a malicious pleasure when the listening parson is disappointed. The ladies converse neither about “blessing”, nor “fullness”, nor “general reason”, but about “an infidelity of Madame d’Harville to her husband”.

We get the following naive revelation about one of the ladies, Countess MacGregor:

She was “*enterprising enough* to become mother to a child as the result of a secret marriage”.

Unpleasantly affected by the *enterprising spirit* of the Countess, Herr Szeliga has sharp words for her:

“We find that all the strivings of the Countess are for her personal, selfish advantage.”

Indeed, he expects nothing good from the attainment of her purpose—marriage to the Prince of Geroldstein:

^a “I find these contrasts piquant enough: one day a painter of fans established in a hovel in the *rue aux Fèves*; this morning a salesman offering a glass of black currant wine to Madame Pipelet, and this evening ... one of the privileged by the grace of God who reign over the world.”—*Ed.*

^b A paraphrase of a couplet from Goethe’s *Faust*, Part I, Scene 6 (*The Witches’ Kitchen*).—*Ed.*

“concerning which we can *by no means* expect that she will avail herself of it for the *happiness* of the Prince of Geroldstein’s *subjects*.”

The puritan ends his admonitory sermon with “profound earnestness”:

“Sarah” (the *enterprising* lady), “*incidentally, is hardly* an exception in this brilliant circle, *although* she is one of its *summits*.”

Incidentally, hardly! Although! And is not the “summit” of a circle an exception?

Here is what we learn about the character of two other ideals, the Marquise d’Harville and the Duchess of Lucenay:

They “lack satisfaction of the heart’. They have not found in marriage the object of love, so they seek it outside marriage. In marriage, love has remained a *mystery* for them, and the imperative urge of the heart drives them to unravel this *mystery*. So they give themselves up to *secret love*. These ‘victims’ of ‘loveless marriage’ are ‘driven against their will to debase love to something external, to a so-called affair, and take the romantic, the *secrecy*, for the internal, the vivifying, the essential element of love’”.

The merit of this dialectical reasoning is to be assessed all the higher as it is of more general application.

He, for example, who is not allowed to *drink* at home and yet feels the need to drink looks for the “object” of drinking “*outside*” the house, and “so” takes to *secret drinking*. Indeed, he will be driven to consider *secrecy* an essential ingredient of drinking, although he will not debase drink to a mere “external” indifferent thing, any more than those ladies did with love. For, according to Herr Szeliga himself, it is not love, but marriage without love, that they debase to what it really is, to something external, to a so-called affair.

Herr Szeliga goes on to ask: “What is the ‘*mystery*’ of love?”

We have just had the speculative construction that “*mystery*” is the “*essence*” of this kind of love. How is it that we now come to be looking for the *mystery* of the *mystery*, the *essence* of the *essence*?

“Not the shady paths in the thickets,” declaims the parson, “not the *natural* semi-obscurity of moonlight night nor the artificial semi-obscurity of costly curtains and draperies; not the soft and enrapturing notes of the harps and the organs, not the attraction of what is forbidden....”

Curtains *and* draperies! Soft *and* enrapturing notes! Even the *organ*! Let the reverend parson stop thinking of *church*! Who would bring an organ to a love tryst?

“All this” (curtains, draperies and organs) “is only the *mysterious*.”

And is not the *mysterious* the “*mystery*” of *mysterious* love? By no means:

"The mysterious in it is what excites, what intoxicates, what enraptures, the *power of sensuality*."

In the "soft and *enrapturing*" notes, the parson already had what enraptures. Had he brought turtle soup and champagne to his love tryst instead of curtains and organs, the "*exciting and intoxicating*" would have been present too.

"It is true we do not like to admit," the reverend gentleman argues, "the power of sensuality; but it has such tremendous power over us only because we cast it out of us and will not recognise it as our own nature, which we should then be in a position to dominate if it tried to assert itself at the expense of reason, of true love and of will-power."

The parson advises us, after the fashion of speculative theology, to *recognise* sensuality as our *own* nature, in order afterwards to be able to *dominate* it, i.e., to retract recognition of it. True, he wishes to dominate it only when it tries to assert itself at the expense of *Reason*—will-power and love as *opposed* to sensuality are only the will-power and love of *Reason*. The unspeculative Christian also recognises *sensuality* as long as it does not assert itself at the expense of true reason, i.e., of faith, of true love, i.e., of love of God, of true will-power, i.e., of will in Christ.

The parson immediately betrays his real meaning when he continues:

"If then love ceases to be the essential element of marriage and of morality in general, *sensuality* becomes the mystery of love, of morality, of educated society—sensuality both in its *narrow* meaning, in which it is a *trembling in the nerves* and a *burning stream* in the veins, and in the broader meaning, in which it is elevated to a *semblance* of spiritual power, to lust for power, ambition, craving for glory.... Countess MacGregor represents" the latter meaning "of sensuality as the mystery of educated society."

The parson hits the nail on the head. To overcome *sensuality* he must first of all overcome the *nerve currents* and the quick *circulation of the blood*.—Herr Szeliga believes in the "narrow" meaning that greater warmth in the body comes from the heat of the blood in the veins; he does not know that *warm-blooded animals* are so called because the temperature of their blood, apart from slight modifications, always remains at a constant level.—As soon as there is no more nerve current and the blood in the veins is no longer hot, the *sinful body*, this seat of sensual lust, becomes a *corpse* and the souls can converse unhindered about "general reason", "true love", and "pure morals". The parson debases sensuality to such an extent that he abolishes the very elements of sensual love which inspire it—the rapid circulation of the blood, which proves that man does not love by insensitive phlegm; the nerve currents which connect the organ that is the main seat of

sensuality with the brain. He reduces true sensual love to the *mechanical secretio seminis* and lisp with a notorious German theologian:

“Not for the sake of sensual love, not for the lust of the flesh, but because the Lord said: Increase and multiply.”

Let us now compare the speculative construction with Eugène Sue’s novel. It is not *sensuality* which is presented as the secret of love, but mysteries, adventures, obstacles, fears, dangers, and especially the attraction of what is forbidden.

“Pourquoi,” says Eugène Sue, “beaucoup de femmes prennent-elles pourtant des hommes qui ne valent pas leurs maris? Parce que le *plus grand charme de l’amour* est l’attrait affriandant *du fruit défendu* ... avancez que, en retranchant de cet amour les craintes, les angoisses, les difficultés, les mystères, les dangers, il ne reste rien ou peu de chose, c’est-à-dire, l’amant ... dans sa simplicité première ... en un mot, ce serait toujours plus ou moins l’aventure de cet homme à qui l’on disait: ‘Pourquoi n’épousez-vous donc pas cette veuve, votre maîtresse?’—‘Hélas, j’y ai bien pensé’—répondit-il’—‘mais alors je ne saurais plus où aller passer mes soirées.’”^a

Whereas Herr Szeliga says explicitly that the mystery of love is not in the *attraction of what is forbidden*, Eugène Sue says just as explicitly that it is the “greatest charm of love” and the reason for all love adventures *extra muros*.

“La prohibition et la contrebande sont inséparables en amour comme en marchandise.”^b

Eugène Sue similarly maintains, contrary to his speculative commentator, that

“the propensity to pretence and craft, the liking for mysteries and intrigues, is an essential quality, a natural propensity and an imperative instinct of woman’s nature”.

The only thing which embarrasses Eugène Sue is that this propensity and this liking are directed against *marriage*. He would like to give the instincts of woman’s nature a more harmless, more useful application.

Herr Szeliga makes Countess MacGregor a representative of the kind of *sensuality* which “is elevated to a semblance of spiritual

^a “Why do many women take as lovers men who are of less worth than their husbands? Because the *greatest charm of love* is the tempting attraction of the *forbidden fruit*.... Grant that if the fears, anxieties, difficulties, mysteries and dangers are taken away from that love nothing or very little remains, that is to say, the lover ... in his original simplicity ... in a word, it would always be more or less the adventure of the man who was asked, ‘Why do you not marry that widow, your mistress?’ ‘Alas, I have thought a good deal about that,’ he answered, ‘but then I would not know where to spend my evenings.’”—*Ed.*

^b “Prohibition and smuggling are as inseparable in love as in trade.”—*Ed.*

power", but in Eugène Sue she is a *person of abstract reason*. Her "ambition" and her "pride", far from being forms of sensuality, are born of an abstract reason which is completely independent of sensuality. That is why Eugène Sue explicitly notes that

"the fiery impulses of love could never make her icy breast heave; no surprise of the *heart* or the *senses* could upset the pitiless calculations of this crafty, selfish, ambitious woman".

This woman's essential character lies in the egoism of abstract *reason* that never suffers from the sympathetic senses and on which the blood has no influence. Her soul is therefore described as "dry and hard", her mind as "artfully wicked", her character as "treacherous" and—what is very typical of a person of abstract reason—as "absolute", her dissimulation as "profound".—It is to be noted incidentally that Eugène Sue motivates the career of the Countess just as stupidly as that of most of his characters. An old nurse gives her the idea that she must become a "crowned head". Convinced of this, she undertakes journeys to capture a crown through marriage. Finally she commits the inconsistency of considering a petty German "*Serenissimus*"^a as a "crowned head".

After his outpourings against *sensuality*, our Critical saint deems it necessary to show why Eugène Sue introduces us to *haute volée* at a ball, a method which is used by nearly all French novelists, whereas the *English* do so more often at the chase or in a country mansion.

"For this" (i.e., Herr Szeliga's) "conception it cannot be indifferent there" (in Herr Szeliga's construction) "and merely accidental that Eugène Sue introduces us to high society at a ball."

Now the horse has been given a free rein and it trots briskly towards the necessary end through a series of conclusions reminding one of the late Wolff.

"*Dancing* is the most common manifestation of *sensuality as a mystery*. The immediate *contact*, the embracing of the two sexes" (?) "necessary to form a couple are allowed in dancing because, in spite of appearances, and the really" (really, Mr. Parson?) "perceptible pleasant sensation, it is not considered as *sensual* contact and embracing" (but probably as connected with universal reason?).

And then comes a closing sentence which at best staggers rather than dances:

"For if it were *in actual fact* considered as such it would be impossible to understand why society is so lenient only as regards dancing while it, on the contrary, so severely condemns that which, if exhibited with similar freedom elsewhere, incurs branding and merciless casting out as a most unpardonable offence against morals and modesty."

The reverend parson speaks here neither of the *cancan* nor of the *polka*, but of *dancing* in general, of the *category* Dancing, which

^a The title for a German prince.—Ed.

is not performed anywhere except in his Critical cranium. Let him see a dance at the Chaumière in Paris, and his Christian-German soul would be outraged by the boldness, the frankness, the graceful petulance and the music of that most sensual movement. His own "really perceptible pleasant sensation" would make it "perceptible" to him that "in actual fact it would be impossible to understand why the dancers themselves, while on the contrary they" give the spectator the uplifting impression of frank human sensuality—"which, if exhibited in the same way elsewhere"—namely in Germany—"would be severely condemned as an unpardonable offence", etc., etc.—why those dancers, at least so to speak in their own eyes, not only should not and may not, but of necessity cannot and must not be frankly sensual human beings!!

The Critic introduces us to the *ball* for the sake of the *essence of dancing*. He encounters a great difficulty. True, there is dancing at this ball, but only in imagination. The fact is that Eugène Sue does not say a word describing the dancing. He does not mix among the throng of dancers. He makes use of the ball only as an opportunity for bringing together his characters from the upper aristocracy. In despair, "Criticism" comes to help out and *supplement* the author, and its own "fancy" easily provides a description of ball incidents, etc. If, as prescribed by Criticism, Eugène Sue was not directly interested in the criminals' hide-outs and language when he described them, the dance, on the other hand, which *not he* but his "fanciful" Critic describes, necessarily interests him infinitely.

Let us continue.

"*Actually*, the secret of sociable tone and tact—the secret of that extremely unnatural thing—is the longing to return to nature. That is why the appearance of a person like *Cecily* in educated society has such an electrifying effect and is crowned with such extraordinary success. She grew up a slave among slaves, without any education, and the only source of life she has to rely upon is her nature. Suddenly transported to a court and subjected to its constraint and customs, she soon learns to see through the secret of the latter.... In this sphere, which she can undoubtedly hold in sway because her power, the power of her nature, has an enigmatic magic, *Cecily* must necessarily stray into losing all sense of measure, whereas formerly, when she was still a slave, the same nature taught her to resist any unworthy demand of the powerful master and to remain true to her love. *Cecily* is the *mystery of educated society disclosed*. The scorned senses finally break down the barriers and surge forth completely uncurbed", etc.

Those of Herr Szeliga's readers who have not read Sue's novel will certainly think that *Cecily* is the lioness of the ball that is described. In the novel she is in a German gaol while the dancing goes on in Paris.

Cecily, as a slave, remains true to the Negro doctor David

because she loves him “passionately” and because her owner, Mr. Willis, is “*brutal*” in courting her. The reason for her change to a dissolute life is a very simple one. Transported into the “European world”, she “blushes” at being “married to a Negro”. On arriving in Germany she is “*at once*” seduced by a wicked man and her “Indian blood” comes into its own. This the hypocritical M. Sue, for the sake of *douce morale*^a and *doux commerce*,^b is bound to describe as “*perversité naturelle*”.^c

The secret of Cecily is that she is a *half-breed*. The secret of her sensuality is the *heat of the tropics*. Parny sang praises of the half-breed in his beautiful lines to Eleonore.^d Over a hundred sea-faring tales tell us how dangerous she is to sailors.

“Cecily était le type incarné de la sensualité brûlante, qui ne s’allume qu’au feu des tropiques.... Tout le monde a entendu parler de ces filles de couleur, pour ainsi dire mortelles aux Européens, de ces vampires enchanteurs, qui, enivrant leurs victimes de séductions terribles ... ne lui laissent, selon l’énergique expression du pays, que ses larmes à boire, que son cœur à ronger.”^e

Cecily was far from producing such a magical effect precisely on people aristocratically educated, *blasé*...

“les femmes de l’espèce de Cecily exercent une action soudaine, une omnipotence magique sur les hommes de *sensualité brutale* tels que *Jacques Ferrand*”.^f

Since when have men like Jacques Ferrand been representative of fine society? But Critical Criticism must speculatively make *Cecily* a factor in the life-process of Absolute Mystery.

4) “THE MYSTERY OF PROBITY AND PIETY”

“*Mystery*, as that of educated society, withdraws, it is true, from the *antithesis* into the *inner sphere*. Nevertheless, high society *once again* has exclusively *its own* circles in which it preserves the holy. It is, as it were, the chapel for this holy of holies. But for people in the forecourt, the chapel itself is the *mystery*. Education, therefore, in its exclusive position is the same thing for the people ... as vulgarity is for the educated.”

It is true, nevertheless, once again, as it were, but, therefore—those are the magic hooks which hold together the links of the *chain of*

^a Sweet morality.—Ed.

^b Tender commerce.—Ed.

^c “Natural perversity.”—Ed.

^d E. D. Parny, *Poésies érotiques*.—Ed.

^e “Cecily was the incarnation of the burning sensuality which only the heat of the tropics can kindle.... Everybody has heard of those coloured girls who are fatal, so to speak, to Europeans; of those charming vampires who intoxicate their victim with terrible seductions ... and leave him nothing, as the forceful expression of the country says, but his tears to drink and his heart to gnaw.”—Ed.

^f “Women of the type of Cecily have a sudden effect, a magic omnipotence over men of *brutal sensuality* like *Jacques Ferrand*.”—Ed.

speculative reasoning. Herr Szeliga has made *Mystery* withdraw from the world of criminals into high society. Now he has to construct the mystery that high society has its *exclusive* circles and that the mysteries of those circles are mysteries for the people. Besides the magic hooks already mentioned, this construction requires the transformation of a *circle* into a *chapel* and the transformation of a non-aristocratic society into a *forecourt* of that chapel. Again it is a mystery for Paris that all the spheres of bourgeois society are only a forecourt of the chapel of high society.

Herr Szeliga pursues two aims. Firstly, *Mystery* which has become incarnate in the exclusive circle of high society must be declared "*common property of the world*". Secondly, the notary *Jacques Ferrand* must be construed as a link in the life of *Mystery*. Here is the way Herr Szeliga reasons:

"Education as yet is unable and unwilling to bring all estates and distinctions into its circle. Only *Christianity* and *morality* are able to found universal kingdoms on earth."

Herr Szeliga identifies education, civilisation, with *aristocratic* education. That is why he cannot see that *industry and trade* found universal kingdoms quite different from *Christianity* and *morality*, domestic happiness and civic welfare. But how do we come to the notary *Jacques Ferrand*? Quite simply!

Herr Szeliga transforms *Christianity* into an *individual* quality, "*piety*", and *morality* into another *individual* quality, "*probity*". He combines these two qualities in *one* individual whom he christens *Jacques Ferrand*, because *Jacques Ferrand* does not possess these two qualities but only pretends to. Thus *Jacques Ferrand* becomes the "mystery of probity and piety". His "testament", on the other hand, is "the mystery of *seeming* piety and probity", and therefore no longer of piety and probity themselves. If Critical Criticism had wanted speculatively to construe this testament as a mystery, it should have declared the seeming probity and piety to be the mystery of this testament, and not the other way round, this testament as the mystery of the seeming probity.

Whereas the Paris college of notaries considered *Jacques Ferrand* as a malicious libel against itself and through the theatrical censorship had this character removed from the stage performance of the *Mystères de Paris*, Critical Criticism, at the very time when it "*polemises against the airy kingdom of conceptions*", sees in a Paris notary not a Paris notary but religion and morality, probity and piety. The trial of the notary *Lehon* ought to have taught it better. The position held by the notary in Eugène Sue's novel is closely connected with his official position.

“Les notaires sont au temporel ce qu’au spirituel sont les curés; ils sont les *dépositaires de nos secrets*”^a (Monteil, *Hist[oire] des français des div[ers] états*,” etc. t. ix, p. 37).

The notary is the secular confessor. He is a *puritan* by profession, and “honesty”, Shakespeare says, is “no Puritan”.^b He is at the same time the go-between for all possible purposes, the manager of all civil intrigues and plots.

With the notary Ferrand, whose whole mystery consists in his hypocrisy and his profession, we do not seem to have made a single step forward yet. But listen:

“If for the notary hypocrisy is a matter of the most complete consciousness, and for Madame Roland it is, *as it were*, instinct, *then* between them there is the great mass of those who cannot get to the bottom of the mystery and yet involuntarily feel a desire to do so. It is therefore not superstition that leads the high and the low to the sombre dwelling of the charlatan Bradamanti (Abbé Polidori); no, it is the search for *Mystery*, to justify themselves to the world.”

“The high and the low” flock to Polidori not to find out a definite mystery which is justified to the whole world, but to look for *Mystery* in general, *Mystery* as the Absolute Subject, *in order* to justify themselves to the world; as if to chop wood one looked, not for an axe, but for *the Instrument in abstracto*.

All the mysteries that Polidori possesses are limited to a means for abortion and a poison for murder.—In a speculative frenzy, Herr Szeliga makes the “murderer” resort to Polidori’s poison “because he wants to be not a murderer, but respected, loved and honoured”. As if in an act of murder it was a question of respect, love or honour and not of one’s *neck*! But the *Critical* murderer does not bother about his neck, but only about “*Mystery*”.—As not everyone commits murder or becomes pregnant illegitimately, how is Polidori to put *everyone* in the desired possession of *Mystery*? Herr Szeliga probably confuses the charlatan Polidori with the scholar *Polydore Virgil* who lived in the sixteenth century and who, although he did not discover any mysteries, tried to make the history of those who did, the *inventors*, the “common property of the world” (see *Polidori Virgilii liber de rerum inventoribus*, Lugduni MDCCVI).

Mystery, Absolute *Mystery*, as it has finally established itself as the “common property of the world”, consists therefore in the mystery of abortion and poisoning. *Mystery* could not make itself

^a “Notaries are in the temporal realm what priests are in the spiritual: they are the *depositories of our secrets*.”—*Ed.*

^b Shakespeare, *All’s Well that Ends Well*, Act I, Scene 3.—*Ed.*

“the common property of the world” more skilfully than by turning itself into mysteries which are mysteries to no one.

5) “MYSTERY, A MOCKERY”

“Mystery has now become common property, the mystery of the whole world and of every individual. Either it is my art or my instinct, or I can buy it as a purchasable commodity.”

What mystery has now become the common property of the world? Is it the mystery of rightlessness in the state, or the mystery of educated society, or the mystery of adulterating wares, or the mystery of making eau-de-cologne, or the mystery of “Critical Criticism”? None of all these, but *Mystery in abstracto*, the category Mystery!

Herr Szeliga intends to depict the *servants* and the *porter Pipelet and his wife* as the incarnation of Absolute Mystery. He wants speculatively to construct the *servant* and the porter of “Mystery”. How does he manage to make the headlong descent from *pure category* down to the “servant” who “spies at a locked door”, from *Mystery as the Absolute Subject*, which is enthroned above the roof in the cloudy heavens of abstraction, down to the ground floor where the porter’s lodge is situated?

First he subjects the category Mystery to a speculative process. When by the aid of means for abortion and poisoning Mystery has become the common property of the world, it is

“therefore by no means any longer concealment and inaccessibility itself, but it conceals itself, or better still” (always better!) “I conceal it, I make it inaccessible”.

With this transformation of Absolute Mystery from *essence* into *concept*, from the *objective* stage, in which it is concealment itself, into the *subjective* stage, in which it conceals itself, or better still, in which I conceal it, we have not made a single step forward. On the contrary, the difficulty seems to grow, for a mystery in man’s head or breast is more inaccessible and concealed than at the bottom of the sea. That is why Herr Szeliga comes to the aid of his *speculative* progress *directly* by means of an *empirical* progress.

“It is behind locked doors”—hark! hark!—“that henceforth”—henceforth!—“Mystery, is hatched, brewed and perpetrated.”

Herr Szeliga has “henceforth” changed the speculative *ego* of Mystery into a very empirical, very *wooden* reality—a *door*.

“But with that”—i.e., with the locked door, not with the transition from the closed essence to the concept—“there exists also the possibility of my overhearing, eavesdropping, and spying on it.”

It is not *Herr Szeliga* who discovered the “mystery” that one can eavesdrop at locked doors. The mass-type proverb even says that walls have ears. On the other hand it is a quite Critical speculative mystery that only “*henceforth*”, after the descent into the hell of the criminals’ hide-outs and the ascent into the heaven of educated society, and after Polidori’s miracles, mysteries can be brewed *behind* locked doors and overheard *through* closed doors. It is just as great a Critical mystery that locked doors are a *categorical necessity* for hatching, brewing and perpetrating mysteries—how many mysteries are hatched, brewed, and perpetrated behind bushes!—as well as for spying them out.

After this brilliant dialectical feat of arms, Herr Szeliga naturally goes on from *spying* itself to the *reasons for spying*. Here he reveals the mystery that *malicious gloating* is the reason for it. From malicious gloating he goes on to the *reason for malicious gloating*.

“Everyone wishes to be better than the others,” he says, “because he keeps secret the mainsprings not only of his good actions, but of his bad ones too, which he tries to hide in impenetrable darkness.”

The sentence should be the other way round: Everyone not only keeps the mainsprings of his good actions secret, but tries to conceal his bad ones in impenetrable darkness because he wishes to be better than the others.

Thus it seems we have gone from *Mystery that conceals itself* to the *ego* that conceals it, from the *ego* to the *locked door*, from the *locked door* to *spying*, from *spying* to the *reason for spying*, malicious gloating; from *malicious gloating* to the *reason for malicious gloating*, the *desire to be better than the others*. We shall soon have the pleasure of seeing the *servant* standing at the locked door. For the general desire to be better than the others leads us directly to this: that “everyone is inclined to find out the mysteries of another”, and this is followed easily by the witty remark:

“In this respect *servants* have the *best opportunity*.”

Had Herr Szeliga read the records from the Paris police archives, Vidocq’s memoirs, the *Livre noir*^a and the like, he would know that in this respect the *police* has still greater opportunity than the “best opportunity” that servants have; that it uses servants only for crude jobs, that it does not stop at the door or where the masters are in *negligé*, but creeps under their sheets next to their naked body in the shape of a *femme galante* or even of a legitimate wife. In Sue’s novel the police spy “*Bras rouge*” plays a leading part in the story.

^a Black book.—Ed.

What “henceforth” annoys Herr Szeliga in servants is that they are not “disinterested” enough. This *Critical misgiving* leads him to the *porter Pipelet and his wife*.

“The porter’s position, on the other hand, gives him relative independence so that he can pour out free, disinterested, although vulgar and injurious, mockery on the mysteries of the house.”

At first this speculative construction of the porter is put into a great difficulty because in many Paris houses the servant and the porter are one and the same person for some of the tenants.

The following facts will enable the reader to form an opinion of the *Critical fantasy* concerning the relatively independent, disinterested position of the porter. The porter in Paris is the representative and spy of the landlord. He is generally paid not by the landlord but by the tenants. Because of that precarious position he often combines the functions of commission agent with his official duties. During the Terror, the Empire and the Restoration, the porter was one of the main agents of the secret police. General Foy, for instance, was watched by his porter, who took all the letters addressed to the general to be read by a police agent not far away (see Froment, *La police dévoilée*). As a result “*portier*”^a and “*épicier*”^b are considered insulting names and the porter prefers to be called “*concierge*”.^c

Far from being depicted as “disinterested” and harmless, Eugène Sue’s Madame Pipelet immediately cheats Rudolph when giving him his change; she recommends to him the dishonest money-lender living in the house and describes Rigolette to him as an acquaintance who may be pleasant to him. She teases the major because he pays her badly and haggles with her—in her vexation she calls him a “*commandant de deux liards*”^d—“*ca t’apprendra à ne donner que douze francs par mois pour ton ménage.*”^e—and because he has the “*petitesse*”^f as to keep a check on his firewood, etc. She herself gives the reason for her “independent” behaviour: the major only pays her twelve francs a month.

According to Herr Szeliga, “Anastasia Pipelet has, to some extent, to declare a small war on *Mystery*”.

^a Porter.—*Ed.*

^b Grocer.—*Ed.*

^c Caretaker.—*Ed.*

^d A twopenny major.—*Ed.*

^e That’ll teach you to give only twelve francs a month for your house-keeping.—*Ed.*

^f Pettiness.—*Ed.*

According to Eugène Sue, Anastasia Pipelet is a typical *Paris Portière*. He wants “to dramatise the *Portière*, whom Henri Monier portrayed with such mastery”. But Herr Szeliga feels bound to transform one of Madame Pipelet’s qualities—“*médisance*”^a—into a separate being and then to make her a representative of that being.

“The husband,” Herr Szeliga continues, “the porter Alfred Pipelet, helps her, but with less luck.”

To console him for this bad luck, Herr Szeliga makes him also into an *allegory*. He represents the “*objective*” side of Mystery, “*Mystery as Mockery*”.

“The mystery which defeats him is a mockery, a joke, that is played on him.”

Indeed, in its infinite pity divine dialectic makes the “unhappy, old, childish man” a “*strong man*” in the *metaphysical sense*, by making him represent a very worthy, very happy and very decisive factor in the life-process of Absolute Mystery. The victory over Pipelet is

“*Mystery’s most decisive defeat.*” “A cleverer, courageous man would not let himself be duped by a *joke.*”

6) TURTLE-DOVE (RIGOLETTE)

“There is still one step left. Through *its own consistent development*, Mystery, as we saw in Pipelet and Cabrion, is driven to debase itself to mere clowning. The *one thing necessary now* is that the individual should no longer agree to play that silly comedy. *Turtle-dove* takes that step in the most nonchalant way in the world.”

Anyone in two minutes can see through the mystery of this speculative clowning and learn to practise it himself. We will give brief directions in this respect.

Problem. You must give me the speculative construction showing how man becomes master over animals.

Speculative solution. Given are half a dozen animals, such as the lion, the shark, the snake, the bull, the horse and the pug. From these six animals abstract the category: *the “Animal”*. Imagine *the “Animal”* to be an independent being. Regard the lion, the shark, the snake, etc., as disguises, incarnations, of *the “Animal”*. Just as you made your imagination, *the “Animal”* of your abstraction, into a real being, now make the real animals into beings of abstraction, of your imagination. You see that the “*Animal*”, which in the *lion* tears man to pieces, in the *shark* swallows him up, in the *snake* stings him with venom, in the *bull* tosses him with its horns and in the *horse* kicks him, only barks at him when it presents itself as a

^a Backbiting.—*Ed.*

pug, and converts the fight against man into the mere *semblance of a fight*. Through its *own consistent development*, the "Animal" is driven, as we have seen in the *pug*, to debase itself to a *mere clown*. When a child or a childish man runs away from a pug, the only thing is for the individual no longer to agree to play the silly comedy. The individual X takes this step in the most nonchalant way in the world by using his bamboo cane on the pug. You see how "Man", through the agency of the individual X and the pug, has become master over *the "Animal"*, and consequently over animals, and in the *Animal as a pug* has defeated the *lion as an animal*.

Similarly Herr Szeliga's "turtle-dove" defeats the mysteries of the present state of the world through the intermediary of Pipelet and Cabrion. More than that! She is herself a manifestation of the category "Mystery".

"She herself is not yet conscious of her high moral value, therefore she is still a mystery to herself."

The mystery of *non-speculative Rigolette* is revealed in Eugène Sue's book by Murph. She is "*une fort jolie grisette*".^a Eugène Sue described in her the lovely human character of the Paris *grisette*. Only owing to his devotion to the bourgeoisie and his own tendency to high-flown exaggeration, he had to idealise the *grisette morally*. He had to gloss over the essential point of her situation in life and her character, to be precise, her disregard for the form of marriage, her naive attachment to the Etudiant^b or the Ouvrier.^c It is precisely in that attachment that she constitutes a really human contrast to the hypocritical, narrow-hearted, self-seeking wife of the bourgeois, to the whole circle of the bourgeoisie, that is, to the official circle.

7) THE WORLD SYSTEM OF THE MYSTERIES OF PARIS

"This world of mysteries is *now* the general world system, in which the individual action of the *Mysteries of Paris* is set."

Before, "however", Herr Szeliga "passes on to the *philosophical reproduction* of the epic event", he must "assemble in a general picture the sketches previously jotted down separately".

It must be considered as a real confession, a revelation of Herr

^a A very pretty *grisette*.—Ed.

^b Student.—Ed.

^c Worker.—Ed.

Szeliga's Critical Mystery, when he says that he wishes to pass on to the "philosophical reproduction" of the epic event. He has so far been "philosophically reproducing" the world system.

Herr Szeliga continues his confession:

"From our presentation it appears that the individual mysteries dealt with have not their value in themselves, each separate from the others, and are in no way magnificent novelties for gossip, but that their value consists in their constituting an *organically linked sequence*, the *totality* of which is "Mystery".

In his mood of sincerity, Herr Szeliga goes still further. He admits that the "*speculative sequence*" is not the *real* sequence of the *Mystères de Paris*.

"Granted, the mysteries do not appear in our epic in the relationship of this *self-knowing sequence*" (to cost prices?). "But we are *not* dealing with the *logical*, obvious, *free organism of criticism*, but with a *mysterious vegetable existence*."

We shall pass over Herr Szeliga's summary and go on immediately to the point that constitutes the "transition". In Pipelet we saw the "self-mockery of Mystery".

"In self-mockery, Mystery passes judgment on itself. *Thereby* the mysteries, annihilating themselves in their final consequence, challenge every strong character to independent examination."

Rudolph, Prince of Geroldstein, *the man of "pure Criticism"*, is destined to carry out this examination and the "*disclosure of the mysteries*."

If we deal with Rudolph and his deeds only later, after diverting our attention from Herr Szeliga for some time,^a it can already be foreseen, and to a certain degree the reader can sense, indeed even surmise without presumption, that instead of treating him as a "*mysterious vegetable existence*", which he is in the *Critical Literatur-Zeitung*, we shall make him a "*logical, obvious, free link*" in the "*organism of Critical Criticism*."

^a See pp. 162-209 of this volume.—Ed.

Chapter VI

ABSOLUTE CRITICAL CRITICISM, OR CRITICAL CRITICISM AS HERR BRUNO

1) ABSOLUTE CRITICISM'S FIRST CAMPAIGN

a) "Spirit" and "Mass"

So far Critical Criticism has seemed to deal more or less with the Critical treatment of various *mass*-type objects. We now find it dealing with the absolutely Critical object, *with itself*. So far it has derived its relative glory from Critical debasement, rejection and transformation of *definite* mass-type objects and persons. It now derives its *absolute* glory from the Critical debasement, rejection and transformation of the Mass in general. Relative Criticism was faced with relative limits. Absolute Criticism is faced with an absolute limit, the limit of the Mass, the Mass as limit. Relative Criticism in its opposition to definite limits was itself necessarily a *limited* individual. Absolute Criticism, in its opposition to the *general* limit, to limit in general, is necessarily an *absolute* individual. As the various mass-type objects and persons have merged in the *impure* pulp of the "Mass", so has still seemingly objective and personal Criticism changed into "*pure Criticism*". So far Criticism has appeared to be more or less a *quality* of the Critical individuals: Reichardt, Edgar, Faucher, etc. Now it is the *Subject* and Herr Bruno is its incarnation.

So far *mass character* has seemed to be more or less the quality of the objects and persons criticised; now objects and persons have become the "Mass", and the "Mass" has become object and person. All previous Critical attitudes have been dissolved in the attitude of absolute Critical wisdom to absolute mass-type stupidity. This *basic attitude* appears as the *meaning*, the *tendency* and the *keyword* of Criticism's previous deeds and struggles.

In accordance with its absolute character, "pure" Criticism, as soon as it appears, will pronounce the differentiating "*cue*"; nevertheless, as Absolute Spirit it must go through a dialectical process. Only at the end of its heavenly motion will its original concept be truly realised (see Hegel, *Enzyklopädie*).

"Only a few months ago," Absolute Criticism announces, "the Mass believed itself to be of gigantic strength and destined to world mastery within a time that it could count on its fingers."

It was precisely Herr Bruno Bauer, in *Die gute Sache der Freiheit*^a (his "own" cause, of course), in *Die Judenfrage*,²² etc., who counted on his fingers the time until the approaching world mastery, although he admitted he could not give the exact date. To the record of the sins of the Mass he adds the mass of his own sins.

"The Mass thought itself in possession of so many truths which seemed obvious to it." "But one *possesses a truth* completely only ... when one follows it through its proofs."

For Herr Bauer, as for Hegel, truth is an *automaton* that proves itself. Man must *follow* it. As in Hegel, the result of real development is nothing but the *truth proven*, i.e., brought to *consciousness*. Absolute Criticism may therefore ask with the most narrow-minded theologian:

"What would be the purpose of *history* if its task were not precisely to *prove* these simplest of all truths (such as the movement of the earth round the sun)?"

Just as, according to the earlier teleologists, plants exist to be eaten by animals, and animals to be eaten by men, history exists in order to serve as the act of consumption of theoretical eating—*proving*. Man exists so that history may exist, and history exists so that the *proof of truths* exists. In this *Critically* trivialised form is repeated the speculative wisdom that man exists, and history exists, so that *truth* may arrive at *self-consciousness*.

That is why *history*, like *truth*, becomes a person apart, a metaphysical subject of which the real human individuals are merely the bearers. That is why Absolute Criticism uses phrases like these:

"*History* does not allow itself to be mocked at ... *History* has exerted its greatest efforts to ... *History* has been engaged ... what would be the purpose of *History*?... *History* provides the explicit proof ... *History* puts forward truths," etc.

If, as Absolute Criticism asserts, history has so far been occupied with only a *few* such truths—the simplest of all—which in the end are self-evident, this inadequacy to which Absolute Criticism reduces previous human experiences proves first of all only its *own* inadequacy. From the un-Critical standpoint the result of history is, on the contrary, that the most complicated truth, the quintessence of all truth, *man*, is self-evident in the end.

^a *The Good Cause of Freedom.—Ed.*

“But truths,” Absolute Criticism continues to argue, “which *seem* to the mass to be so crystal-clear that they are self-evident *from the start* ... and that the mass regards proof of them as superfluous, are not worth history supplying explicit proof of them; they are in general no part of the problem which history is engaged in solving.”

In its holy zeal against the mass, Absolute Criticism pays it the finest compliment. If a truth is *crystal-clear* because it *seems* crystal-clear to the mass; if history’s *attitude* to truths *depends* on the *opinion* of the mass, then the verdict of the mass is absolute, infallible, the *law* of history, and history proves only what does *not* seem crystal-clear to the mass, and therefore needs proof. It is the mass, then, that prescribes history’s “task” and “occupation”.

Absolute Criticism speaks of “truths which are self-evident *from the start*”. In its Critical naivety it invents an absolute “*from the start*” and an abstract, immutable “*nass*”. There is just as little difference, in the eyes of Absolute Criticism, between the “from the start” of the sixteenth-century mass and the “from the start” of the nineteenth-century mass as there is between those masses themselves. It is precisely the characteristic feature of a truth which has become *true* and *obvious* and is self-evident that it is “self-evident *from the start*”. Absolute Criticism’s polemic against truths which are self-evident from the start is a polemic against truths which are “self-evident” in general.

A truth which is self-evident has lost its savour, its meaning, its *value* for Absolute Criticism as it has for divine *dialectic*. It has become flat, like stale water. On the one hand, therefore, Absolute Criticism proves everything which is self-evident and, in addition, many things which have the luck to be incomprehensible and therefore will never be self-evident. On the other hand, it considers as self-evident everything which needs some elaboration. Why? Because it is *self-evident* that *real problems* are *not* self-evident.

Since, *the* “Truth”, like history, is an ethereal subject separate from the material mass, it addresses itself not to the empirical man but to the “*innermost depths of the soul*”; in order to be “*truly apprehended*” it does not act on his *vulgar body*, which may live deep down in an English cellar or at the top of a French block of flats; it “stretches” “from end to end” through his idealistic intestines. Absolute Criticism does certify that “the mass” has so far in its own way, i.e., superficially, been affected by the truths that history has been so gracious as to “put forward”; but at the same time it prophesies that

“the *attitude* of the *mass* to *historical progress* will “*completely change*”.

It will not be long before the mysterious meaning of this Critical prophecy becomes "crystal-clear" to us.

"All great actions of previous history," we are told, "were failures *from the start* and had no effective success because the mass became *interested* in and *enthusiastic* over them—or, they were bound to come to a pitiful end because the idea underlying them was such that it had to be content with a superficial comprehension and therefore to rely on the approval of the mass."

It seems that the comprehension which suffices for, and therefore corresponds to, an idea ceases to be superficial. It is only for *appearance's sake* that Herr Bruno brings out a *relation* between an *idea* and its *comprehension*, just as it is only for *appearance's sake* that he brings out a *relation* between unsuccessful historical *action* and the *mass*. If, therefore, Absolute Criticism condemns something as "superficial", it is simply previous history, the actions and ideas of which were those of the "masses". It rejects *mass-type* history to replace it by *Critical* history (see Herr Jules Faucher on English problems of the day).^a According to previous *un-Critical* history, i.e., history not conceived in the sense of Absolute Criticism, it must further be precisely distinguished to what extent the *mass* was "*interested*" in aims and to what extent it was "*enthusiastic*" over them. The "*idea*" always disgraced itself insofar as it differed from the "*interest*". On the other hand, it is easy to understand that every mass-type "*interest*" that asserts itself historically goes far beyond its real limits in the "*idea*" or "*imagination*" when it first comes on the scene and is confused with *human* interest in general. This *illusion* constitutes what *Fourier* calls the *tone* of each historical epoch. The *interest* of the bourgeoisie in the 1789 Revolution, far from having been a "*failure*", "*won*" everything and had "*most effective success*", however much its "*pathos*" has evaporated and the "*enthusiastic*" flowers with which that interest adorned its cradle have faded. That *interest* was so powerful that it was victorious over the pen of Marat, the guillotine of the Terror and the sword of Napoleon as well as the crucifix and the blue blood of the Bourbons. The Revolution was a "*failure*" only for the mass which did not have in the *political* "*idea*" the idea of its real "*interest*", i.e., whose true life-principle did not coincide with the life-principle of the Revolution, the mass whose real conditions for emancipation were essentially different from the conditions within which the bourgeoisie could emancipate itself and society. If the Revolution, which can exemplify all great historical "*actions*", was a failure, it was so because the mass within whose living conditions it

^a See pp. 12-16 of this volume.—Ed.

essentially came to a stop, was an *exclusive, limited* mass, not an all-embracing one. If the Revolution was a failure it was not because the mass was “*enthusiastic*” over it and “*interested*” in it, but because the most numerous part of the mass, the part distinct from the bourgeoisie, did not have its *real* interest in the principle of the Revolution, did not have a revolutionary principle of its *own*, but *only* an “*idea*”, and hence only an object of momentary *enthusiasm* and only seeming *uplift*.

Together with the thoroughness of the historical action, the size of the mass whose action it is will therefore increase. In Critical history, according to which in historical actions it is not a matter of the acting masses, of empirical action, or of the empirical *interest* of this action, but instead is only “a matter of an *idea in them*”, things must naturally take a different course.

“*In the mass,*” Criticism teaches us, “*not somewhere else, as its former liberal spokesmen believed, is the true enemy of the spirit to be found.*”

The enemies of progress *outside* the mass are precisely those *products* of *self-debasement, self-rejection* and *self-alienation* of the *mass* which have been endowed with independent being and a life of their *own*. The mass therefore turns against its *own* deficiency when it turns against the independently existing *products* of its *self-debasement*, just as man, turning against the existence of God, turns against his *own religiosity*. But as those *practical* self-alienations of the mass exist in the real world in an outward way, the mass must fight them in an *outward* way. It must by no means hold these products of its self-alienation for mere *ideal* fantasies, mere *alienations of self-consciousness*, and must not wish to abolish *material* estrangement by purely *inward spiritual* action. As early as 1789 Loustalot’s journal bore the motto:

Les grands ne nous paraissent grands
Que parce que nous sommes à genoux
——— Levons nous! ——^a

But to rise it is not enough to do so in *thought* and to leave hanging over one’s *real sensuously perceptible* head the *real sensuously perceptible* yoke that cannot be subtilised away with ideas. Yet *Absolute Criticism* has learnt from Hegel’s *Phänomenologie* at least *the art of converting real objective* chains that exist *outside me* into *merely ideal, merely subjective* chains, existing *merely in me* and thus

^a The great appear great in our eyes
Only because we are kneeling.
Let us rise!—*Ed.*

of converting all *external* sensuously perceptible struggles into pure struggles of thought.

This Critical transformation is the basis of the *pre-established harmony* between *Critical Criticism* and the *ensorship*. From the Critical point of view, the writer's fight against the censor is not a fight of "man against man". The censor is nothing but *my own tact personified* for me by the solicitous police, my own tact struggling against my tactlessness and un-Criticalness. The struggle of the writer with the censor is only seemingly, only in the eyes of wicked sensuousness, anything else than the *inner* struggle of the writer *with himself*. Insofar as the censor is *really individually different* from myself, a *police executioner* who mishandles the product of my mind by applying an external standard alien to the matter in question, he is a mere *mass-type* fantasy, an *un-Critical figment of the brain*. When Feuerbach's *Thesen zur Reform der Philosophie*²³ were prohibited by the censorship, it was not the official barbarity of the censorship that was to blame but the uncultured character of Feuerbach's *Thesen*. "Pure" Criticism, unsullied by mass or matter, too, has in the censor a purely "ethereal" form, divorced from all mass-type reality.

Absolute Criticism has declared the "Mass" to be the *true enemy of the Spirit*. It develops this in more detail as follows:

"The Spirit now knows where to *look* for its only *adversary*—in the self-deception and the pithlessness of the Mass."

Absolute Criticism proceeds from the *dogma* of the absolute competency of *the "Spirit"*. Furthermore, it proceeds from the *dogma* of the *extramundane* existence of the Spirit, i.e., of its existence outside the mass of humanity. Finally, it transforms "*the Spirit*", "*Progress*", on the one hand, and "*the Mass*", on the other, into *fixed* entities, into concepts, and then relates them to one another as such given rigid extremes. It does not occur to Absolute Criticism to investigate *the "Spirit"* itself, to find out whether it is not in its spiritualistic nature, in its airy pretensions, that the "phrase", "self-deception" and "pithlessness" are rooted. No, the Spirit is *absolute*, but unfortunately at the same time it continually turns into *spiritlessness*; it continually reckons without its host. Hence it must necessarily have an *adversary* that intrigues against it. That *adversary* is the Mass.

The position is the same with "*Progress*". In spite of the pretensions of "*Progress*", continual *retrogressions* and *circular movements* occur. Far from suspecting that the category "*Progress*" is completely empty and abstract, Absolute Criticism is so profound

as to recognise "*Progress*" as being absolute, so as to explain retrogression by assuming a "*personal adversary*" of Progress, *the Mass*. As "*the Mass*" is nothing but the "*opposite of the Spirit*", of Progress, of "*Criticism*";^a it can accordingly be defined only by this imaginary opposition; apart from that opposition all that Criticism can say about the *meaning* and the existence of the Mass is only something *meaningless*, because completely undefined:

"The Mass, in *that sense* in which the '*word*' also embraces the *so-called* educated world."

"Also" and "so-called" suffice for a Critical definition. *The "Mass"* is therefore distinct from the *real* masses and exists as *the "Mass"* only for "*Criticism*".

All communist and socialist writers proceeded from the observation that, on the one hand, even the most favourably brilliant deeds seemed to remain without brilliant results, to end in trivialities, and, on the other, *all progress of the Spirit* had so far been *progress against the mass of mankind*, driving it into an ever more *dehumanised* situation. They therefore declared "*progress*" (see *Fourier*) to be an inadequate, abstract *phrase*; they assumed (see *Owen* among others) a fundamental flaw in the civilised world; that is why they subjected the *real* foundations of contemporary society to incisive *criticism*. This communist criticism had practically at once as its counterpart the movement of the *great mass*, in opposition to which history had been developing so far. One must know the studiousness, the craving for knowledge, the moral energy and the unceasing urge for development of the French and English workers to be able to form an idea of the *human nobility* of this movement.

How infinitely *profound* then is "Absolute Criticism", which, in face of these intellectual and practical facts, sees in a one-sided way only *one* aspect of the relationship, the continual foundering of the Spirit, and, vexed at this, seeks in addition an *adversary* of the "Spirit", which it finds in *the "Mass"*! In the end this great Critical *discovery* amounts to a *tautology*. According to Criticism, *the Spirit* has so far had a limit, an obstacle, in other words, an *adversary*, because it has had an *adversary*. Who, then, is the adversary of the *Spirit*? *Spiritlessness*. For the Mass is defined only as the "opposite" of the Spirit, as *spiritlessness* or, to take the more precise definitions of spiritlessness, as "indolence", "superficiali-

^a In the German text: *des Fortschritts der "Kritik"* (the Progress of Criticism)—probably a misprint.—Ed.

ty", "self-complacency". What a fundamental superiority over the communist writers it is not to have traced spiritlessness, indolence, superficiality and self-complacency to their places of origin, but to have denounced them *morally* and *exposed* them as the opposite of the Spirit, of Progress! If these qualities are proclaimed qualities of *the Mass*, as of a *subject* still distinct from them, that distinction is nothing but a "Critical" *semblance* of distinction. Only in *appearance* has Absolute Criticism a *definite* concrete subject besides the abstract qualities of spiritlessness, indolence, etc., for "*the Mass*" in the Critical conception is *nothing* but those abstract qualities, another *word* for them, a *fantastic personification* of them.

The relation between "Spirit and Mass" has, however, also a *hidden* meaning which will be completely revealed in the course of the reasoning. We only indicate it here. That relation *discovered* by Herr Bruno is, in fact, nothing but a *Critically caricatured consummation of Hegel's conception of history*, which, in turn, is nothing but the *speculative* expression of the *Christian-Germanic* dogma of the antithesis between *Spirit* and *Matter*, between *God* and the *world*. This antithesis finds expression in history, in the human world itself in such a way that a few chosen *individuals* as the *active Spirit* are counterposed to the rest of mankind, as the *spiritless Mass*, as *Matter*.

Hegel's conception of history presupposes an *Abstract* or *Absolute Spirit* which develops in such a way that mankind is a mere *mass* that bears the Spirit with a varying degree of consciousness or unconsciousness. Within *empirical*, exoteric history, therefore, Hegel makes a speculative, esoteric history, develop. The history of mankind becomes the history of the *Abstract Spirit* of mankind, hence a *spirit far removed* from the real man.

Parallel with this doctrine of Hegel's there developed in France the theory of the *doctrinaires*²⁴ proclaiming the *sovereignty of reason* in opposition to the *sovereignty of the people*, in order to exclude the masses and rule *alone*. This was quite consistent. If the activity of *real* mankind is nothing but the activity of a *mass* of human individuals, then *abstract generality*, *Reason*, the Spirit, on the contrary, must have an abstract expression restricted to a few individuals. It then depends on the situation and imaginative power of each individual whether he will claim to be this representative of "*the Spirit*".

Already in *Hegel* the *Absolute Spirit* of history has its material in the *Mass* and finds its appropriate expression only in *philosophy*. *The* philosopher, however, is only the organ through which the maker of history, the Absolute Spirit, arrives at self-consciousness

retrospectively after the movement has ended. The participation of the philosopher in history is reduced to this retrospective consciousness, for the real movement is accomplished by the Absolute Spirit *unconsciously*. Hence the philosopher appears on the scene *post festum*.^a

Hegel is guilty of being doubly half-hearted: firstly in that, while declaring that philosophy is the mode of existence of the Absolute Spirit, he refuses to recognise the *actual philosophical individual* as the Absolute Spirit; secondly, in that he lets the Absolute Spirit as Absolute Spirit make history only *in appearance*. For since the Absolute Spirit becomes *conscious* of itself as the creative World Spirit only *post festum* in the philosopher, its making of history exists only in the consciousness, in the opinion and conception of the philosopher, i.e., only in the speculative imagination. Herr Bruno Bauer overcomes Hegel's half-heartedness.

Firstly, he proclaims *Criticism* to be the Absolute Spirit and *himself* to be *Criticism*. Just as the element of Criticism is banished from the Mass, so the element of the Mass is banished from Criticism. Therefore *Criticism* sees itself incarnate not in a *mass*, but exclusively in a *handful* of chosen men, in Herr *Bauer* and his disciples.

Herr Bauer furthermore overcomes Hegel's other half-heartedness. No longer, like the Hegelian Spirit, does he make history *post festum* and in imagination. He *consciously* plays the part of the *World Spirit* in opposition to the mass of the rest of mankind; he enters into a contemporary *dramatic* relation with that mass; he invents and executes history with a purpose and after mature reflection.

On the one side is the Mass as the passive, spiritless, unhistorical, *material* element of history. On the other is *the Spirit, Criticism*, Herr Bruno and Co. as the active element from which all *historical* action proceeds. The act of transforming society is reduced to the *cerebral activity* of Critical Criticism.

Indeed, the relation of Criticism, and hence of Criticism incarnate, Herr Bruno and Co., to the Mass is in truth the *only* historical relation of the present time. The whole of present-day history is reduced to the movement of these two sides against each other. All antitheses have been dissolved in this *Critical* antithesis.

Critical Criticism, which becomes *objective* to itself only in relation to its antithesis, to the Mass, to *stupidity*, is consequently obliged continually to *produce* this antithesis for itself, and Herren

^a After the event.—*Ed.*

Faucher, Edgar and Szeliga have supplied sufficient proof of their virtuosity in their speciality, the *mass stupefaction* of persons and things.

Let us now accompany Absolute Criticism in its *campaigns* against the *Mass*.

b) The Jewish Question No. 1.
The Setting of the Questions

The "Spirit", contrary to the *Mass*, behaves from the outset in a *Critical* way by considering its own narrow-minded work, Bruno Bauer's *Die Judenfrage*, as absolute, and only the opponents of that work as sinners. In Reply No. 1²⁵ to attacks on that treatise, he does not show any inkling of its defects; on the contrary, he declares he has set forth the "true", "*general*" (!) significance of the Jewish question. In later replies we shall see him obliged to admit his "*oversights*".^a

"The reception my book has had is the *beginning* of the proof that the very ones who so far have advocated freedom, and still advocate it, must rise against the Spirit more than any others; the defence of my book which I am now going to undertake will supply further proof how thoughtless the *spokesmen of the Mass* are; they have God knows what a great opinion of themselves for supporting emancipation and the dogma of the '*rights of man*'."

On the occasion of a treatise by Absolute Criticism, the "*Mass*" must necessarily have *begun* to prove its antithesis to the Spirit; for it is its antithesis to Absolute Criticism that *determines* and *proves* its very *existence*.

The polemic of a few liberal and rationalist Jews against Herr Bruno's *Die Judenfrage* has naturally a *Critical* meaning quite different from that of the mass-type polemic of the liberals against philosophy and of the rationalists against Strauss. Incidentally, the originality of the above-quoted remark can be judged by the following passage from *Hegel*:

"We can here note the particular form of bad conscience manifest in the kind of eloquence with which that shallowness" (of the liberals) "plumes itself, and first of all in the fact that it speaks most of *Spirit* where its speech has the *least spirit*, and uses the word *life*", etc., "where it is most dead and withered."^b

As for the "*rights of man*", it has been proved to Herr Bruno ("On the Jewish Question", *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*^c) that it

^a See pp. 95-96, 106-07 of this volume.—*Ed.*

^b G.W.F. Hegel, *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts. Vorrede*.—*Ed.*

^c See present edition, Vol. 3, pp. 146-74.—*Ed.*

is "*he himself*", not the *spokesmen of the Mass*, who has misunderstood and dogmatically mishandled the essence of those rights. Compared to his discovery that the rights of man are not "*inborn*"—a discovery which has been made innumerable times in England during the last 40-odd years—Fourier's assertion that the right to fish, to hunt, etc., are inborn rights of men is one of genius.

We give only a few examples of Herr Bruno's fight against *Philippson*, *Hirsch* and others. Even such poor opponents as these are not disposed of by Absolute Criticism. It is by no means preposterous of Herr *Philippson*, as Absolute Criticism maintains, to say:

"Bauer conceives a peculiar kind of state ... a *philosophical ideal of a state*."

Herr Bruno, who confuses the state with humanity, the rights of man with man and political emancipation with human emancipation, was bound, if not to conceive, at least to imagine a peculiar kind of state, a philosophical ideal of a state.

"Instead of writing his laboured statement, the rhetorician" (Herr Hirsch) "would have done better to refute my proof that the *Christian state*, having as its vital principle a definite religion, cannot allow adherents of another particular religion ... complete equality with its own social estates."

Had the rhetorician *Hirsch* really refuted Herr Bruno's proof and shown, as is done in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, that the state of social estates and of exclusive Christianity is not only an incomplete state but an incomplete *Christian state*, Herr Bruno would have answered as he does to that refutation:

"Objections in this matter are meaningless."²⁶

Herr Hirsch is quite correct when in answer to Herr Bruno's statement:

"By pressure against the mainsprings of history the Jews provoked counter-pressure",

he recalls:

"Then they must have counted for something in the making of history, and if Bauer himself asserts this, he has no right to assert, on the other hand, that they did not contribute anything to the making of modern times."

Herr Bruno answers:

"An eyesore is something too—does that mean it contributes to develop my eyesight?"

Something which has been an eyesore to me from birth, as the Jews have been to the Christian world, and which persists and develops with the eye is not an ordinary sore, but a wonderful one, one that really belongs to my eye and must even contribute to a highly original development of my eyesight. The Critical

“*eyesore*” does not therefore hurt the rhetorician “*Hirsch*”. Incidentally, the criticism quoted above revealed to Herr Bruno the significance of Jewry in “the *making* of modern times”.

The theological mind of Absolute Criticism feels so offended by a *deputy of the Rhenish Landtag* stating that “the Jews are *queer* in their own Jewish way, not in our so-called Christian way”, that it is still “calling him *to order* for using that argument”.

Concerning the assertion of another deputy that “*civil* equality of the Jews can be implemented only where Jewry no longer exists”, Herr Bruno comments:

“Correct! That is correct if Criticism’s other proposition, which I put forward in my treatise, is not omitted”, namely the proposition that Christianity also must have ceased to exist.

We see that in its Reply No. 1 to the attacks upon *Die Judenfrage*, Absolute Criticism still regards the abolition of religion, atheism, as the condition for *civil* equality. In its first stage it has therefore not yet acquired any deeper insight into the essence of the state than into the “*oversights*” of its “*work*”.

Absolute Criticism feels offended when one of its *intended* “latest” scientific discoveries is betrayed as something already generally recognised. A Rhenish deputy remarks:

“No one has yet maintained that France and Belgium were distinguished by particular clarity in recognising principles in the organisation of their political affairs.”

Absolute Criticism could have objected that that assertion transferred the present into the past by representing as traditional the now trivial view of the inadequacy of French political principles. Such a relevant objection would not be profitable for Absolute Criticism. On the contrary, it must assert the obsolete view to be that at present prevailing, and proclaim the now prevailing view a Critical mystery which *its* investigation still has to reveal to the Mass. Hence it must say:

“It” (the antiquated prejudice) “has been asserted by *very many*” (of the Mass): “*but a thorough investigation of history will provide the proof that even after the great work done by France to comprehend the principles, much still remains to be achieved.*”

That means that a thorough investigation of history will not itself “*achieve*” the comprehension of the principles. It will only *prove* in its thoroughness that “*much still remains to be achieved*”. A great achievement, especially after the works of the Socialists! Nevertheless Herr Bruno *already* achieves *much* for the comprehension of the present social state of things by his remark:

"The *certainty* prevailing at present is *uncertainty*."

If Hegel says that the prevailing *Chinese* certainty is "Being", that the prevailing *Indian* certainty is "Nothing", etc., Absolute Criticism joins him in the "pure" way when it resolves the character of the present time in the logical category "*Uncertainty*", and all the purer since "Uncertainty", like "Being" and "Nothing", belongs to the first chapter of speculative logic, the chapter on "*Quality*".

We cannot leave No. 1 of *Die Judenfrage* without a general remark.

One of the chief pursuits of Absolute Criticism consists in first bringing all questions of the day into their *right setting*. For it does not answer the *real* questions—it substitutes *quite different* ones. As it makes everything, it must also first *make* the "questions of the day", make them *its own* questions, questions of Critical Criticism. If it were a question of the Code Napoléon, it would prove that it is *properly* a question of the *Pentateuch*.²⁷ Its *setting* of "questions of the day" is Critical *distortion* and *misrepresentation* of them. It thus distorted the "Jewish question", too, in such a way that it did not need to investigate *political emancipation*, which is the subject-matter of that question, but could instead confine itself to a criticism of the Jewish religion and a description of the Christian-Germanic state.

This method, too, like all Absolute Criticism's originalities, is the repetition of a *speculative* verbal trick. *Speculative* philosophy, namely, *Hegel's* philosophy, had to transpose all questions from the form of common sense to the form of speculative reason and convert the real question into a *speculative* one to be able to answer it. Having distorted *my* question on my lips and, like the catechism, put *its own* question into my mouth, it could, of course, like the catechism, have its ready answer to all my questions.

c) Hinrichs No. 1. Mysterious Hints on Politics, Socialism and Philosophy

"*Political!*" Absolute Criticism is literally horrified at the presence of this word in Professor *Hinrichs'* lectures.²⁸

"Whoever has followed the development of modern times and knows history will *also* know that the political movements at present taking place have a significance *quite different*" (!) "from a *political* one: at their base" (at their base! ... now for basic wisdom) "they have a *social*" (!) "significance, which, as we know" (!) "is such" (!) "that *all* political interests appear *insignificant*" (!) "in comparison with it."

A few months before the Critical *Literatur-Zeitung* began to be published, there appeared, as we know (!), Herr Bruno's fantastic political treatise: *Staat, Religion und Parthei!*

If *political movements have social significance*, how can political interests appear "*insignificant*" in comparison with their own social significance?

"Herr Hinrichs does not know his way about either in his own house or anywhere else in the world.... He could not be at home anywhere *because ... because* Criticism, which in the last four years has begun and carried on its *by no means 'political'* but '*social*'" (!) "work, has remained *completely*" (!) "unknown to him."

Criticism, which according to the opinion of the Mass carried on "by no means *political*" but "in all respects *theological*" work, is still content with the word "*social*", even now when it has uttered this word for the first time, not just in the last four years, but since its literary birth.

Since socialist writings spread in Germany the recognition that *all* human aspirations and actions without exception have *social* significance, Herr Bruno can call his theological works *social* too. But what a *Critical* demand it is that Professor Hinrichs should have derived socialism from an *acquaintance* with *Bauer's* works, considering that all Bruno Bauer's works published up to the appearance of Hinrichs' lectures, when they do draw practical conclusions, draw *political* ones! It was impossible, un-Critically speaking, for Professor Hinrichs to supplement Herr Bruno's published works with his as yet unpublished ones. From the Critical point of view, the Mass is, of course, obliged to interpret all Absolute Criticism's mass-type "movements", as well as "political" ones, from the angle of the future and of Absolute Progress! But in order that Herr Hinrichs, after becoming acquainted with the *Literatur-Zeitung*, may never again forget the word "*social*" or fail to recognise the "*social*" character of *Criticism*, *Criticism* prohibits the word "*political*" for the third time before the whole world and solemnly repeats the word "*social*" for the third time.

"If the *true* tendency of modern history is considered it is *no longer a question of political, but—*but of *social* significance", etc.

Just as Professor Hinrichs is the scapegoat for the former "political" movements, so is he also for the "*Hegelian*" movements and expressions which Absolute Criticism used intentionally up to the publication of the *Literatur-Zeitung*, and continues to use unintentionally in it.

Once "*real Hegelian*" and twice "*Hegelian philosopher*" are thrown in Hinrichs' face as catchwords. Herr Bruno even "*hopes*"

that the "banal expressions so tiresomely circulated in all the books of the *Hegelian* school" (in particular in his own books) will, *in view of* their great "exhaustion" as seen in Professor Hinrichs' lectures, soon reach the end of their journey. From the "exhaustion" of Professor Hinrichs, Herr Bruno hopes for the dissolution of *Hegel's philosophy* and thereby *his own redemption* from it.

Thus in its *first campaign* Absolute Criticism overthrows its own long-worshipped gods, "*Politics*" and "*Philosophy*", declaring them idols of Professor Hinrichs.

Glorious first campaign!

2) ABSOLUTE CRITICISM'S SECOND CAMPAIGN

a) Hinrichs No. 2. "Criticism" and "Feuerbach". Condemnation of Philosophy

As the result of its first campaign, *Absolute Criticism* can regard "*philosophy*" as having been dealt with and term it outright an ally of the "*Mass*".

"*Philosophers* were predestined to fulfil the heart's desires of the '*Mass*'. For 'the *Mass* wants simple concepts, in order to have nothing to do with the thing itself, shibboleths, so as to have finished with everything from the start, phrases by which *Criticism* can be done away with.'"²⁹

And "philosophy" fulfils this longing of the "Mass"!

Dizzy after its victories, Absolute Criticism breaks out in *Pythian* frenzy against philosophy. *Feuerbach's Philosophie der Zukunft*^a is the concealed cauldron^b whose fumes inspire the frenzy of Absolute Criticism's victory-intoxicated head. It read Feuerbach's work in March. The fruit of that reading, and at the same time the criterion of the earnestness with which it was undertaken, is Article No. 2 against Professor Hinrichs.

In this article Absolute Criticism, which has never freed itself from the cage of the Hegelian way of viewing things, storms at the iron bars and walls of its prison. The "simple concept", the terminology, the whole mode of thought of philosophy, indeed, the whole of philosophy, is rejected with disgust. In its place we suddenly find the "*real wealth of human relations*", the "*immense content of history*", the "*significance of man*", etc. "*The mystery of the system*" is declared "*revealed*".

^a L. Feuerbach, *Grundsätze der Philosophie der Zukunft*.—Ed.

^b Engels here makes a pun on "*Feuerbach*" (literally stream of fire) and "*Feuerkessel*" (boiler).—Ed.

But who, then, revealed the mystery of the "system"? *Feuerbach*. Who annihilated the dialectics of concepts, the war of the gods that was known to the philosophers alone? *Feuerbach*. Who substituted for the old lumber and for "infinite self-consciousness" if not, indeed, "*the significance of man*"—as though man had another significance than that of being man!—at any rate "*Man*"? *Feuerbach*, and only *Feuerbach*. And he did more. Long ago he did away with the very categories with which "*Criticism*" now operates—the "real wealth of human relations, the immense content of history, the struggle of history, the fight of the Mass against the Spirit", etc., etc.

Once man is recognised as the essence, the basis of all human activity and situations, only "*Criticism*" can invent *new categories* and transform *man* himself into a category and into the principle of a whole series of categories, as it is doing now. It is true that in so doing it takes the only road to salvation that has remained for frightened and persecuted *theological* inhumanity. *History* does *nothing*, it "possesses *no* immense wealth", it "wages *no* battles". It is *man*, real, living man who does all that, who possesses and fights; "history" is not, as it were, a person apart, using man as a means to achieve *its own* aims; history is *nothing but* the activity of man pursuing his aims. If *Absolute Criticism*, after *Feuerbach's* brilliant expositions, still dares to reproduce all the old trash in a new form, at the same time abusing it as "*mass-type*" trash—which it has all the less right to do as it never stirred a finger to dissolve philosophy—that fact alone is sufficient to bring the "*mystery*" of *Criticism* to light and to assess the Critical naivety with which it says the following to Professor Hinrichs, whose "*exhaustion*" once did it such a great service:

"The *damage* is to those who have not gone through any development and therefore *could not alter themselves even if they wished to*, and at most to the *new principle*—but no! The *new* cannot be made into a *phrase*, separate turns of speech cannot be borrowed from it."

Absolute Criticism prides itself that, in contrast to Professor Hinrichs, it has solved "*the mystery of the faculty sciences*". Has it then solved the "*mystery*" of philosophy, jurisprudence, politics, medicine, political economy and so forth? Not at all! It has—be it noted!—shown in *Die gute Sache der Freiheit* that science as a source of livelihood and free science, freedom of teaching and faculty statutes, contradict each other.

If "*Absolute Criticism*" were honest it would have admitted where its pretended illumination on the "*Mystery of Philosophy*" comes from. It is a good thing all the same that it does not put

into *Feuerbach's* mouth such nonsense as the misunderstood and distorted propositions that it borrowed from him, as it has done with other people. By the way, it is characteristic of "Absolute Criticism's" *theological* viewpoint that, whereas the German philistines are now beginning to understand *Feuerbach* and to adopt his conclusions, it is unable to grasp a single sentence of his correctly or to use it properly.

Criticism achieves a real advance over its feats of the first campaign when it "defines" the struggle of "*the Mass*" against the "*Spirit*" as "*the aim*" of all previous history, when it declares that "*the Mass*" is the "*pure nothing*" of "misery"; when it calls the Mass purely and simply "*Matter*" and contrasts "*the Spirit*" as truth to "*Matter*". Is not Absolute Criticism therefore *genuinely Christian-Germanic*? After the old antithesis between spiritualism and materialism has been fought out on all sides and overcome once for all by *Feuerbach*, "*Criticism*" again makes a basic dogma of it in its most loathsome form and gives the victory to the "*Christian-Germanic spirit*".

Finally, it must be considered as a development of Criticism's mystery concealed in its first campaign when it now identifies the antithesis between *Spirit* and *Mass* with the antithesis between "*Criticism*" and the Mass. Later it will go on to identify *itself* with "*Criticism*" and therefore to represent itself as "*the Spirit*", the Absolute and Infinite, and the Mass, on the other hand, as finite, coarse, brutal, dead and inorganic—for that is what "*Criticism*" understands by matter.

How immense is the wealth of history that is exhausted in the relationship of humanity to *Herr Bauer*!

b) The Jewish Question No. 2

Critical Discoveries on Socialism, Jurisprudence and Politics (Nationality)

To the material, mass-type Jews is preached the *Christian* doctrine of *freedom of the Spirit*, *freedom in theory*, that *spiritualistic* freedom which *imagines* itself to be free even in chains, and whose soul is satisfied with "*the idea*" and only embarrassed by any mass-type existence.

"The Jews are *emancipated* to the extent they have now reached in *theory*, they are *free* to the extent that they *wish to be free*."³⁰

From this proposition one can immediately measure the Critical gap which separates *mass-type*, profane communism and socialism

from *absolute* socialism. The first proposition of profane socialism rejects emancipation *in mere theory* as an illusion and for *real* freedom it demands besides the idealistic “*will*” very tangible, very material conditions. How low “*the Mass*” is in comparison with holy Criticism, the Mass which considers material, practical upheavals necessary even to win the time and means required merely to occupy itself with “*theory*”!

Let us leave purely spiritual socialism an instant for *politics*!

Herr *Riesser* maintains against Bruno Bauer that *his* state (i.e., the *Critical* state) must exclude “*Jews*” and “*Christians*”. Herr *Riesser* is right. Since Herr Bauer confuses *political* emancipation with *human* emancipation, since the state can react to antagonistic elements—and Christianity and Judaism are described as treasonable elements in *Die Judenfrage*—only by forcible exclusion of the *persons* representing them (as the Terror, for instance, wished to do away with hoarding by guillotining the hoarders³¹), Herr Bauer must have both Jews and Christians hanged in his “*Critical* state”. Having confused political emancipation with human emancipation, he had to be consistent and confuse the *political means* of emancipation with the *human means*. But as soon as Absolute Criticism is told the *definite* meaning of its deductions, it gives the answer that *Schelling* once gave to all his opponents who substituted *real* thoughts for his phrases:

“*Criticism’s* opponents are its opponents because they not only measure it with their *dogmatic* yardstick but regard Criticism itself as *dogmatic*; they oppose Criticism because it does not recognise their dogmatic distinctions, definitions and evasions.”

It is, of course, to adopt a dogmatic attitude to Absolute Criticism, as also to Herr *Schelling*, if one assumes it to have *definite*, real meaning, thoughts and views. In order to be accommodating and to prove to Herr *Riesser* its humanity, “*Criticism*”, however, decides to resort to dogmatic distinctions, definitions and especially to “*evasions*”.

Thus we read:

“Had I in that work” (*Die Judenfrage*) “had the *will* or the *right* to go *beyond* criticism, I *ought*” (!) “to *have spoken*” (!) “not of the *state*, but of ‘*society*’, which excludes no one but from which only those exclude themselves who do not wish to take part in its development.”

Here Absolute Criticism makes a *dogmatic distinction* between what it ought to have done, if it had not done the contrary, and what it actually did. It explains the narrowness of its work *Die Judenfrage* by the “*dogmatic evasions*” of having the *will* and the *right*

which prohibited it from going "*beyond criticism*". What? "*Criticism*" should go *beyond* "*criticism*"? This quite *mass-type* notion occurs to Absolute Criticism because of the dogmatic necessity for, on the one hand, asserting its conception of the Jewish question as absolute, as "*Criticism*", and on the other hand, admitting the possibility of a more comprehensive conception.

The *mystery* of its "*not having the will*" and "*not having the right*" will later be revealed as the Critical *dogma* according to which all apparent limitations of "*Criticism*" are nothing but necessary *adaptations* to the powers of comprehension of the Mass.

It had not the *will*! It *had* not the *right* to go beyond its narrow conception of the Jewish question! But what would it have done *had it had* the *will* or the *right*?—It would have given a *dogmatic definition*. It would have spoken of "*society*" instead of the "*state*", that is to say, it would not have studied the *real* relation of Jewry to *present-day civil* society! It would have given a *dogmatic definition* of "*society*" as distinct from the "*state*", in the sense that if the *state* excludes, on the other hand *they exclude* themselves from society who do not wish to take part in its development!

Society behaves just as exclusively as the state, only in a more polite form: it does not throw you out, but it makes it so uncomfortable for you that you go out of your own will.

Basically, the state does not behave otherwise, for it does not exclude anybody who complies with all *its* demands and orders and *its* development. In its *perfection* it even closes its eyes and declares *real* contradictions to be *non-political* contradictions which do not disturb it. Besides, Absolute Criticism itself has argued that the state excludes Jews because and in so far as the Jews exclude the state and hence exclude *themselves* from the state. If this reciprocal relationship has a more polite, a more hypocritical, a more insidious form in *Critical* "*society*", this only proves that "*Critical*" "*society*" is more hypocritical and less developed.

Let us follow Absolute Criticism deeper in its "*dogmatic distinctions*" and "*definitions*", and, in particular, in its "*evasions*".

Herr Riesser, for example, demands of the critic "that he *distinguish* what belongs to the domain of law" from "what is beyond its sphere".

The Critic is indignant at the impertinence of this *juridical* demand.

"So far, *however*," he retorts, "both feeling and conscience have interfered in law, always supplemented it, and because of its character, based on its *dogmatic form*" (not, therefore, on its *dogmatic essence*), "have always had to supplement it."

The Critic forgets only that *law*, on the other hand, *distinguishes itself* quite explicitly from “feeling and conscience”, that this distinction is based on the one-sided *essence* of *law* as well as on its dogmatic *form*, and is even one of the *main dogmas* of *law*; that, finally, the practical implementation of that distinction is just as much the peak of the *development of law* as the separation of religion from all profane content makes it *abstract, absolute* religion. The fact that “feeling and conscience” interfere in *law* is sufficient reason for the “Critic” to speak of feeling and conscience when it is a matter of *law*, and of *theological dogmatism* when it is a matter of *juridical dogmatism*.

The “definitions and distinctions of Absolute Criticism” have prepared us sufficiently to hear its latest “discoveries” on “society” and “law”.

“The world form that *Criticism* is preparing, and the *thought* of which it is *even only* just preparing, is not a *merely legal* form but” (collect yourself, reader) “a *social* one, about which *at least* this much” (this little?) “*can* be said: whoever has not made his contribution to its development and does not live with his conscience and feeling in it, cannot feel at home in it or take part in its history.”

The world form that “*Criticism*” is preparing is defined as *not merely legal, but social*. This definition can be interpreted in two ways. The sentence quoted may be taken as “*not legal but social*” or as “*not merely legal, but also social*”. Let us consider its content according to both readings, beginning with the first. Earlier, Absolute Criticism defined the new “world form” distinct from the “*state*” as “*society*”. Now it defines the noun “*society*” by the adjective “*social*”. If Herr Hinrichs was three times given the word “*social*” in contrast to his “*political*”, Herr Riesser is now given *social society* in contrast to his “*legal*” society. If the *Critical* explanations for Herr Hinrichs reduced themselves to the formula “*social*” + “*social*” + “*social*” = 3a, Absolute Criticism in its second campaign passes from *addition* to *multiplication* and Herr Riesser is referred to society multiplied by itself, society to the *second* power, *social society* = a². In order to complete its deductions on society, all that now remains for Absolute Criticism to do is to go on to fractions, to extract the *square root* of society, and so forth.

If, on the other hand, we take the second reading: the “*not merely legal, but also social*” world form, this hybrid world form is nothing but the *world form* existing *today*, the world form of *present-day society*. It is a great, a meritorious *Critical miracle* that “*Criticism*” in its pre-world thinking is only just *preparing* the *future* existence of the world form which *exists today*. But however

matters stand with “not merely legal but social society”, *Criticism* can for the time being say no more about it than “*fabula docet*”,^a the *moral* application. Those who do not live in that society with their feeling and their conscience will “not *feel* at home” in it. In the end, no one will live in that society except “pure feeling” and “pure conscience”, that is, “the Spirit”, “*Criticism*” and its *supporters*. The *Mass* will be excluded from it in one way or another so that “mass-type society” will exist outside “social society”.

In a word, this society is nothing but the *Critical heaven* from which the real world is excluded as being the *un-Critical hell*. In its pure thinking, Absolute Criticism is preparing this transfigured *world form* of the contradiction between “*Mass*” and “*Spirit*”.

Of the same *Critical* depth as these explanations on “*society*” are the explanations Herr Riesser is given on the destiny of *nations*.

The Jews’ desire for emancipation and the desire of the Christian states to “classify” the Jews in “their government scheme”—as though the Jews had not long ago been classified in the Christian government scheme!—lead Absolute Criticism to prophecies on the *decay of nationalities*. See by what a complicated detour Absolute Criticism arrives at the present historical movement—namely, by the *detour of theology*. The following illuminating oracle shows us what great results Criticism achieves in this way:

“The *future* of all nationalities—is—*very—obscure!*”

But let the future of nationalities be as obscure as it may be, for Criticism’s sake. The one essential thing is *clear*: the *future* is the *work of Criticism*.

“*Destiny*,” it exclaims, “may decide as it will: we now know that it is *our work*.”

As God leaves *his creation*, man, his *own will*, so *Criticism* leaves destiny, which is *its creation*, its *own will*. *Criticism*, of which destiny is the work, is, like God, *almighty*. Even the “resistance” which it “*finds*” outside itself is its own work. “*Criticism makes its adversaries*.” The “*mass indignation*” against it is therefore “dangerous” only for “the *Mass*” itself.

But if Criticism, like God, is *almighty*, it is also, like God, *all-wise* and is capable of combining its almightiness with the *freedom*, the *will* and the *natural determination* of human individuals.

^a The fable teaches.—*Ed.*

"It would not be the *epoch-making* force if it did not have the effect of *making each one* what he *wills* to be and showing each one irrevocably the standpoint *corresponding to his nature and his will.*"

Leibniz could not have given a happier presentation of the pre-established harmony between the almightiness of God and the freedom and natural determination of man.

If "*Criticism*" seems to clash with psychology by *not distinguishing* between the *will* to be something and the *ability* to be something, it must be borne in mind that it has decisive grounds to declare this "*distinction*" "*dogmatic*".

Let us steel ourselves for the third campaign! Let us recall once more that "*Criticism makes its adversary*"! But how could it make its adversary, *the "phrase"*, if it were not a phrase-monger?

3) ABSOLUTE CRITICISM'S THIRD CAMPAIGN

a) Absolute Criticism's Self-Apology. Its "Political" Past

Absolute Criticism begins its third campaign against the "*Mass*" with the question:

"*What is now the object of criticism?*"³²

In the same number of the *Literatur-Zeitung* we find the information:

"*Criticism wishes nothing but to know things.*"

According to this, all things are the *object* of Criticism. It would be senseless to inquire about some particular, definite object peculiar to Criticism. The contradiction is easily resolved when one remembers that all things "merge" into Critical things and all Critical things into *the Mass*, as the "*Object*" of "*Absolute Criticism*".

First of all, Herr Bruno describes his *infinite pity* for the "*Mass.*" He makes "*the gap* that separates him from the *crowd*" an object of "*persevering study.*" He wants "*to find out the significance of that gap for the future*" (this is what above was called knowing "*all*" things) and at the same time "*to abolish it*". In truth he therefore already knows the *significance* of that gap. It consists in being *abolished* by him.

As each man's self is nearest to him, "*Criticism*" first sets about abolishing its *own mass nature*, like the Christian ascetics who begin the campaign of the spirit against the flesh with the mortification of their *own* flesh. The "*flesh*" of Absolute Criticism is its *really*

massive literary past, amounting to 20-30 volumes. Herr Bauer must therefore free the literary biography of "*Criticism*"—which coincides exactly with his own literary biography—from its *mass-like appearance*; he must retrospectively *improve* and *explain* it and by this *apologetic* commentary "*place its earlier works in safety*".

He begins by explaining by a double cause the error of the *Mass*, which until the end of the *Deutsche Jahrbücher* and the *Rheinische Zeitung*³³ regarded Herr Bauer as one of *its* supporters. Firstly the mistake was made of regarding the literary movement as not "*purely literary*". At the same time the opposite mistake was made, that of regarding the literary movement as "a merely" or "*purely*" literary movement. There is no doubt that the "*Mass*" was mistaken in any case, if only because it made two mutually incompatible errors *at the same time*.

Absolute Criticism takes this opportunity of exclaiming to those who ridiculed the "German nation" as a "*blue stocking*":

"Name even a single historical epoch which was not authoritatively *outlined beforehand by the 'pen'* and had not to allow itself to be shattered by a stroke of the pen."

In his Critical naivety Herr Bruno separates "*the pen*" from the *subject who writes*, and the subject who writes as "*abstract writer*" from the living *historical man* who wrote. This allows him to go into ecstasy over the *wonder-working* power of the "*pen*". He might just as well have demanded to be told of a historical movement which was not outlined beforehand by "poultry" or the "goose girl".

Later we shall be told by the same Herr Bruno that so far not one historical epoch, not a single one, has become known. How could the "*pen*", which so far has been unable to *outline "any single"* historical epoch *after* the event, have been able to *outline them all beforehand*?

Nevertheless, Herr Bruno proves the correctness of his view by *deeds*, by himself "*outlining beforehand*" his own "*past*" with *apologetic "strokes of the pen"*.

Criticism, which was involved on all sides not only in the *general* limitation of the world and of the epoch, but in quite particular and personal limitations, and which nevertheless assures us that it has been "*absolute, perfect and pure*" Criticism in all its works for as long as man can think, has only *accommodated* itself to the *prejudices* and *power of comprehension* of the *Mass*, as God is wont to do in his revelations to man.

"It was bound to come," Absolute Criticism informs us, "to a breach of *Theory* with its *seeming ally*."

But because *Criticism*, here called *Theory* for a change, comes to *nothing*, but everything, on the contrary, comes from it; because it develops not inside but *outside* the world, and has predestined everything in its divine immutable consciousness, the *breach* with its former ally was a “*new turn*” only in *appearance*, only for others, not in itself and not for *Criticism* itself.

“But this turn ‘*properly speaking*’ was not even new. *Theory* had continually worked on *criticism of itself*” (we know how much effort has been expended on it to force it to criticise itself); “it had never flattered the Mass” (but itself all the more); “it had always *taken care* not to get itself ensnared in the premises of its opponent.”

“The Christian theologian must tread *cautiously*.” (Bruno Bauer, *Das entdeckte Christenthum*, p. 99.) How did it happen that “cautious” Criticism nevertheless did get ensnared and did not already at that time express its “proper” meaning clearly and audibly? Why did it not speak out bluntly? Why did it let the illusion of its brotherhood with the Mass persist?

“‘Why hast thou done this to me?’ said Pharaoh to Abraham as he restored to him Sarah his wife. ‘Why didst thou say she was thy sister?’” (*Das entdeckte Christenthum* by Bruno Bauer, p. 100.)

“‘Away with reason and language!’ says the theologian, ‘for otherwise Abraham would be a liar. It would be a mortal insult to Revelation!’” (loc. cit.)

“Away with reason and language!” says the Critic. For had Herr Bauer *really* and not just apparently been ensnared with the Mass, Absolute Criticism would not be absolute in its revelations, it would be mortally insulted.

“It is *only*,” Absolute Criticism continues, “that its” (Absolute Criticism’s) “efforts *had not been noticed*, and *there was moreover* a stage of Criticism when it was *forced sincerely* to consider its opponent’s premises and to take them seriously for an instant; a stage, in short, when it was *not yet fully* capable of taking away from the Mass the latter’s conviction that it had the same cause and the same interest as Criticism.”

“*Criticism’s* efforts had just not been noticed; therefore the Mass was to blame. On the other hand, Criticism admits that its efforts *could* not be noticed because it itself was not yet “*capable*” of making them *noticeable*. Criticism *therefore appears* to be to blame.

God help us! *Criticism* was “forced”—violence was used against it—“sincerely to consider its opponent’s premises and to take them seriously for an instant”. A fine sincerity, a truly theological sincerity, which does not really take a thing seriously but only “*takes it seriously for an instant*”; which has always, therefore *every instant*, been careful not to get itself ensnared in its opponent’s premises, and nevertheless, “for an instant” “sincerely” takes these very premises into consideration. Its “sincerity” is still greater in the closing part of the sentence. It was in the same instant when

Criticism “sincerely took into consideration the premises of the Mass” that it “was not yet fully *capable*” of destroying the illusion about the unity of *its* cause and the cause of the *Mass*. It was *not yet capable*, but it already had the *will* and the *thought* of it. It *could not yet outwardly* break with the Mass but the break was already *complete inside it*, in its *mind*—complete in the same instant when it *sincerely* sympathised with the Mass!

In its involvement with the prejudices of the Mass, Criticism was not *really* involved in *them*; on the contrary, it was, *properly speaking*, free from its own limitation and was only “*not yet completely capable*” of informing the Mass of this. Hence all the limitation of “Criticism” was pure *appearance*; an appearance which without the limitation of the Mass would have been superfluous and would therefore not have existed at all. It is therefore *again* the Mass that is to blame.

Insofar as this *appearance*, however, was supported by “the inability”, “the impotence” of Criticism to express its thought, Criticism itself was *imperfect*. This it admits in its own way, which is as sincere as it is apologetic.

“In spite of having subjected liberalism itself to devastating criticism, it” (Criticism) “could *still* be regarded as a peculiar kind of liberalism, *perhaps* as its extreme form; *in spite of* its true and decisive arguments having gone beyond politics, it *nevertheless* was *still* bound to give an *appearance of engaging in politics*, and this *incomplete appearance* won it most of the friends mentioned above.”

Criticism won its friends through its *incomplete appearance* of engaging in politics. Had it *completely appeared* to engage in politics, it would inevitably have lost its *political* friends. In its *apologetic anxiety* to wash itself free of all sin, it accuses the *false appearance* of having been an *incomplete false appearance*, not a *complete false one*. By substituting one appearance for the other, “Criticism” can console itself with the thought that if it had the “complete appearance” of wishing to engage in politics, it does not have, on the other hand, even the “incomplete appearance” of anywhere or at any time having dissolved politics.

Not completely satisfied with the “incomplete appearance”, Absolute Criticism again asks itself:

“How did it happen that *Criticism* at that time became involved in ‘mass-linked, political’ interests; that *it—even*” (!)—“*was obliged*” (!)—“*to engage in politics*” (!).

Bauer the *theologian* takes it as a *matter of course* that *Criticism* had to indulge endlessly in *speculative theology* for *he*, “Criticism”, is indeed a theologian *ex professo*. But to *engage in politics*? That must be motivated by very special, political, personal circumstances!

Why, then, had “*Criticism*” to *engage* even in *politics*? “It was accused — *that is the answer to the question.*” At least the “mystery” of “*Bauer’s politics*” is thereby disclosed; at least the *appearance*, which in Bruno Bauer’s *Die gute Sache der Freiheit und meine eigene Sache* links its “own cause” to the mass-linked “cause of freedom” by means of an “and”, cannot be called *non-political*. But if *Criticism* pursued not its “own cause” in the *interest of politics*, but *politics* in the *interest of its own cause*, it must be admitted that not *Criticism* was taken in by politics, but politics by *Criticism*.

So Bruno Bauer was to be dismissed from his chair of theology³⁴: he was *accused*; “*Criticism*” had to engage in politics, that is to say, to *conduct “its”*, i.e., Bruno Bauer’s, suit. Herr Bauer did not conduct *Criticism*’s suit, “*Criticism*” conducted Herr Bauer’s suit. Why did “*Criticism*” *have* to conduct its suit?

“In order to justify itself!” *It may well be*; only “*Criticism*” is far from limiting itself to such a personal, vulgar reason. It may well be; but *not solely* for that reason, “*but mainly* in order to bring out the contradictions of its opponents”, and, *Criticism* could add, in order to have bound together in a single *book* old essays against various theologians—see among other things the wordy bickering with *Planck*,³⁵ that family affair between “Bauer-theology” and Strauss-theology.

Having got a load off its heart by admitting the real interest of its “*politics*”, Absolute *Criticism* remembers its “*suit*” and again chews the old *Hegelian* cud (see the struggle between Enlightenment and faith³⁶ in the *Phänomenologie*, see *the whole of the Phänomenologie*) that “the old which resists the new is no longer really the old”, the cud which it has already chewed over at length in *Die gute Sache der Freiheit*. Critical *Criticism* is a ruminant animal. It keeps on warming up a few crumbs dropped by Hegel, like the above-quoted proposition about the “old” and the “new”, or again that about the “development of the extreme out of its opposite extreme”, and the like, without ever feeling the need to deal with “*speculative dialectic*” in any other way than by the exhaustion of Professor Hinrichs. Hegel, on the contrary, it continually transcends “*Critically*” by repeating him. For example:

“*Criticism*, by appearing and giving the investigation a new form, i.e., giving it the form which is *no longer* susceptible of being *transformed* into an *external limitation*,” etc.

When I *transform* something I make it something essentially different. Since every form is also an “*external limitation*”, *no* form is “susceptible” of being *transformed* into an “*external limitation*”

any more than an apple of being “transformed” into an apple. Admittedly, the form which “Criticism” gives to the investigation is not susceptible of being transformed into any “external limitation” for quite *another* reason. Beyond every “external limitation” it is blurred into an ash-grey, dark-blue vapour of nonsense.

“It” (the struggle between the old and the new) “would, *however, be quite impossible even then*” (namely at the moment when Criticism “gives” the investigation “the new form”) “if the old were to deal with the question of compatibility or incompatibility ... *theoretically.*”

But why does not the old deal with this question theoretically? Because “this, *however, is least of all possible for it in the beginning, since at the moment of surprise*” (i.e., in the beginning) it “knows neither itself nor the new”, i.e., it deals *theoretically* neither with itself nor with the new. It would be quite impossible if “impossibility”, unfortunately, were not impossible!

When *the* “Critic” from the theological faculty further “admits that he erred *intentionally*, that he committed the mistake deliberately and after mature reflection” (all that Criticism has experienced, learnt, and done *is transformed* for it into a free, pure and intentional product of its reflection) this confession of the Critic has only an “incomplete appearance” of truth. Since the *Kritik der Synoptiker*^a has a completely *theological* foundation, since it is through and through *theological* criticism, Herr Bauer, university lecturer in theology, could write and teach it “without mistake or error”. The mistake and error were rather on the part of the theological faculties, which did not realise how strictly Herr Bauer had kept his promise, the promise he gave in *Kritik der Synoptiker*, Bd. I, Foreword, p. xxiii.

“If the *negation* may appear still too sharp and far-reaching in this first volume too, we must remember that the truly *positive* can be born only if the negation has been serious and general.... *In the end* it will be seen that only the most devastating criticism of the world can teach us the creative *power of Jesus* and of his *principle.*”

Herr Bauer intentionally separates the Lord “Jesus” and his “principle” in order to free the *positive* meaning of his promise from all semblance of ambiguity. And Herr Bauer has really made the “*creative*” power of the Lord Jesus and of his principle so evident that his “*infinite self-consciousness*” and the “*Spirit*” are nothing but *creations* of Christianity.

If Critical Criticism’s dispute with the Bonn theological faculty explained so well its “politics” at that time, why did Critical

^a B. Bauer, *Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte der Synoptiker.*—Ed.

Criticism continue to engage in politics after the dispute had been settled? Listen to this:

“At this point ‘Criticism’ *should have* either *come to a halt* or immediately *proceeded further* to examine the essence of politics and depict it as its adversary; —if only it had been possible for it to be able to come to a halt in the struggle at that time and if, on the *other* hand, there had not been a far too strict historical law that when a principle measures itself for the first time with its opposite it must let itself be repressed by it....”

What a delightful apologetic phrase! “Criticism *should have* come to a halt” if only it had been possible ... “to be able to come to a halt”! Who “*should*” come to a halt? And who should have done what “it would not have been possible ... to be able to do”? On the other hand! Criticism should have proceeded “if *only*, on the other hand, there had *not* been a far *too* strict historical law,” etc. Historical laws are also “*far too strict*” with Absolute Criticism! If *only* they did *not* stand on the *opposite* side to Critical Criticism, how brilliantly the latter would proceed! But *à la guerre comme à la guerre*! In history, Critical Criticism must allow itself to be made a sorry “story” of!

“If Criticism” (still Herr Bauer) “had to ... it will *at the same time* be *admitted* that it always felt *uncertain* when it gave in to demands of this” (political) “kind, and that as a result of these demands it came into contradiction with its *true elements*, a contradiction that had *already* found its *solution* in those *elements*.”

Criticism was forced into political weaknesses by the all too strict laws of history, but — it entreats — *it will at the same time be admitted* that it was above those weaknesses, if not in reality, at least *in itself*. Firstly, it had overcome them, “*in feeling*”, for “it always felt uncertain in its demands”; it felt *ill at ease* in politics, it could not make out what was the matter with it. More than that! It came into contradiction with its *true elements*. And finally the greatest thing of all! The contradiction with its *true elements* into which it came found its solution not in the course of Criticism’s *development*, but “*had*”, on the contrary, “*already*” found its solution in Criticism’s *true elements* existing independently of the contradiction! These Critical elements can claim with pride: before Abraham was, we were. Before the opposite to us was produced by development, it lay yet *unborn* in our chaotic womb, dissolved, dead, ruined. But since Criticism’s contradiction with its *true elements* “*had already* found its solution” in the *true elements* of Criticism, and since a *solved* contradiction is *not* a contradiction, it found itself, to be precise, in *no* contradiction with its *true elements*, in *no* contradiction with itself, and — the general aim of self-apology seems attained.

Absolute Criticism's self-apology has a whole *apologetical* dictionary at its disposal:

"not even properly speaking", "only not noticed", "there was besides", "not yet complete", "although—nevertheless", "not only—but mainly", "just as much, properly speaking, only", "Criticism should have if only it had been possible and if on the other hand", "if ... it will at the same time be admitted", "was it not natural, was it not inevitable", "neither ..." etc.

Not so very long ago Absolute Criticism said the following about apologetic phrases of this kind:

"'Although' and 'nevertheless', 'indeed' and 'but', a heavenly 'Nay', and an earthly 'Yea', are the main pillars of modern theology, the stilts on which it strides along, the artifice to which its whole wisdom is reduced, the phrase which recurs in all its phrases, its alpha and omega" (*Das entdeckte Christenthum*, p. 102).

b) The Jewish Question No. 3

"Absolute Criticism" does not stop at proving by its autobiography its own singular almightiness which "*properly speaking, first creates the old, just as much as the new*". It does not stop at writing *in person* the apology of its past. It now sets third persons, the rest of the secular world, the Absolute "Task", the "task which is *much more important now*", the *apologia* for Bauer's deeds and "works".

The *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* published a criticism of Herr Bauer's *Die Judenfrage*.^a His basic error, the confusion of "*political*" with "*human emancipation*", was revealed. True, the old Jewish question was not first brought into its "*correct setting*"; the "Jewish question" was rather dealt with and solved in the setting which recent developments have given to *old questions of the day*, and as a result of which the latter have become "questions" of the present instead of "questions" of the past.

Absolute Criticism's *third* campaign, it seems, is intended to reply to the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*. First of all, Absolute Criticism *admits*:

"In *Die Judenfrage* the same '*oversight*' was made,—that of identifying the *human* with the *political* essence."

Criticism remarks:

"it would be too late to *reproach* criticism for the stand which it still maintained partially *two years ago*." "*The question is rather to explain why criticism ... even had to engage in politics.*"

^a K. Marx, *On the Jewish Question*. See present edition, Vol. 3.—Ed.

“Two years ago?” We must reckon according to the *absolute* chronology, from the *birth* of the Critical Redeemer of the world, Bauer’s *Literatur-Zeitung!* The Critical world redeemer was born anno 1843. In the same year the second, enlarged edition of *Die Judenfrage* was published. The “Critical” treatment of the “Jewish question” in *Einundzwanzig Bogen aus der Schweiz* appeared later in the same year, 1843 old style.³⁷ After the end of the *Deutsche Jahrbücher* and the *Rheinische Zeitung*, in the same momentous year 1843 old style, or anno 1 of the Critical era, appeared Herr Bauer’s fantastic-political work *Staat, Religion und Parthei*, which exactly repeated his old errors on the “*political essence*”. The apologist is forced to falsify *chronology*.

The “*explanation*” why Herr Bauer “*even had to*” engage in politics is a matter of general interest only under certain conditions. If the infallibility, purity and absoluteness of Critical Criticism are assumed as *basic dogma*, then, of course, the facts contradicting that dogma turn into riddles which are just as difficult, profound and mysterious as the apparently ungodly deeds of God are for theologians.

If, on the other hand, “*the Critic*” is considered as a finite individual, if he is not separated from the *limitations* of his time, one does not have to answer the question *why he* had to develop *even* within the world, because the *question* itself does not exist.

If, however, Absolute Criticism insists on its demand, one can offer to provide a little scholastic treatise dealing with the following “*questions of the times*”:

“Why had the Virgin Mary’s conception by the Holy Ghost to be proved by no other than Herr Bruno Bauer?” “Why had Herr Bauer to prove that the angel that appeared to Abraham was a *real* emanation of God, an emanation which, nevertheless, lacked the consistency necessary to *digest food*?” “Why had Herr Bauer to provide an apologia for the Prussian royal house and to raise the Prussian state to the rank of *absolute* state?” “Why had Herr Bauer, in his *Kritik der Synoptiker*, to substitute ‘*infinite self-consciousness*’ for *man*?” “Why had Herr Bauer in his *Das entdeckte Christenthum* to repeat the *Christian theory of creation* in a *Hegelian* form?” “Why had Herr Bauer to demand of himself and others an ‘*explanation*’ of the miracle that he was bound to be mistaken?”

While waiting for proofs of these necessities, which are just as “Critical” as they are “Absolute”, let us listen once more to “*Criticism’s*” apologetic evasions.

"The Jewish question ... had ... first to be brought into its *correct* setting, as a *religious* and *theological* and as a *political* question." "As to the treatment and solution of both these questions, *Criticism* is *neither religious nor political*."

The point is that the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* declares Bauer's treatment of the "Jewish question" to be *really* theological and *fantastic*-political.

First, "*Criticism*" replies to the "reproach" of *theological* limitation.

"The Jewish question is a *religious* question. The *Enlightenment* claimed to solve it by describing the *religious contradiction* as *insignificant* or even by denying it. *Criticism*, on the contrary, had to present it in its *purity*."

When we come to the *political* part of the Jewish question we shall see that in politics, too, Herr Bauer the theologian is not concerned with politics but with theology.

But when the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* attacked his treatment of the Jewish question as "*purely religious*", it was concerned especially with his article in *Einundzwanzig Bogen*, the title of which was:

"*Die Fähigkeit der heutigen Juden und Christen, frei zu werden*".^a

This article has nothing to do with the old "Enlightenment". It contains Herr Bauer's *positive* view on the ability of the present-day Jews to be emancipated, that is, on the possibility of their emancipation.

"*Criticism*" says:

"The Jewish question is a *religious* question."

The question is: *What is a religious question?* and, in particular, *what is a religious question today?*

The *theologian* will judge by *appearances* and see a *religious* question in a *religious* question. But "*Criticism*" must remember the explanation it gave Professor *Hinrichs* that the *political* interests of the present time have *social* significance, that it is "*no longer a question*" of *political interests*.^b

The *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* with equal right said to *Criticism*: *Religious* questions of the day have at the present time a *social* significance. It is no longer a question of *religious* interests as *such*. Only the *theologian* can believe it is a question of religion as religion. Granted, the *Jahrbücher* committed the *error* of not stopping at the word "*social*". It characterised the *real* position of the Jews in civil society today. Once Jewry was stripped bare of the

^a "The Ability of Present-Day Jews and Christians to Obtain Freedom."—*Ed.*

^b See pp. 90-91 of this volume.—*Ed.*

religious shell and its empirical, worldly, practical kernel was revealed, the practical, *really social* way in which this kernel is to be abolished could be indicated. Herr Bauer was content with a "religious question" being a "religious question".

It was by no means denied, as Herr Bauer *makes out*, that the Jewish question is also a *religious* question. On the contrary, it was shown that Herr Bauer grasps *only the religious* essence of Jewry, but not the *secular, real basis* of that religious essence. He combats *religious consciousness* as if it were something independent. Herr Bauer therefore explains the *real Jews* by the *Jewish religion*, instead of explaining the mystery of the Jewish religion by the *real Jews*. Herr Bauer therefore understands the Jew only insofar as he is an immediate object of *theology* or a *theologian*.

Consequently Herr Bauer has no inkling that real *secular* Jewry, and hence *religious* Jewry *too*, is being continually produced by the *present-day civil life* and finds its final development in the *money system*. He could not have any inkling of this because he did not know Jewry as a part of the real world but only as a part of *his* world, *theology*; because he, a pious, godly man, considers not the active *everyday Jew* but the hypocritical *Jew of the Sabbath* to be the *real Jew*. For Herr Bauer, as a theologian of the *Christian faith*, the *world-historic* significance of Jewry had to cease the *moment* Christianity was *born*. Hence he had to repeat the old orthodox view that it has maintained itself *in spite* of history; and the old theological superstition that Jewry exists only as a *confirmation* of the divine curse, as a *tangible proof* of the Christian revelation had to recur with him in the *Critical-theological* form that it exists and has existed only as *crude religious doubt* about the supernatural origin of Christianity, i.e., as a *tangible proof* against Christian revelation.

On the other hand, it was proved that Jewry has maintained itself and developed *through* history, *in* and *with* history, and that this development is to be perceived not by the eye of the theologian, but only by the eye of the man of the world, because it is to be found, not in *religious theory*, but only in *commercial* and *industrial practice*. It was explained *why* practical Jewry attains its full development only in the fully developed *Christian world*, why indeed it is the fully developed *practice* of the *Christian world itself*. The existence of the *present-day Jew* was not explained by his religion—as though this religion were something apart, independently existing—but the tenacious survival of the Jewish religion was explained by practical features of civil society which are *fantastically* reflected in that religion. The emancipation of the Jews into human beings, or the human emancipation of Jewry,

was therefore not conceived, as by Herr Bauer, as the special task of the Jews, but as a general practical task of the present-day world, which is *Jewish* to the core. It was proved that the task of abolishing the essence of Jewry is actually the task of abolishing the *Jewish character of civil society*, abolishing the inhumanity of the present-day practice of life, the most extreme expression of which is the *money system*.

Herr Bauer, as a *genuine*, although *Critical*, theologian or *theological* Critic, could not get beyond the *religious contradiction*. In the attitude of the Jews to the Christian world he could see *only* the attitude of the *Jewish religion* to the *Christian religion*. He even had to restore the religious contradiction in a *Critical way*—in the *antithesis* between the attitudes of the Jew and the Christian to *Critical religion*—*atheism*, the last stage of *theism*, the *negative* recognition of God. Finally, in his *theological fanaticism* he had to *restrict* the ability of the “present-day Jews and Christians”, i.e., of the present-day world, “to obtain freedom” to their ability to grasp “the Criticism” of theology and apply it themselves. For the orthodox theologian the whole world is dissolved in “religion and theology”. (He could just as well dissolve it in politics, political economy, etc., and call *theology* heavenly *political economy*, for example, since it is the theory of the production, distribution, exchange and consumption of “*spiritual wealth*” and of the treasures of heaven!) Similarly, for the radical, *Critical theologian*, the *ability* of the world to achieve freedom, is dissolved in the *single* abstract ability to criticise “religion and theology” as “religion and theology”. The only struggle he knows is the struggle against the *religious* limitations of self-consciousness, whose *Critical* “*purity*” and “*infinity*” is just as much a theological limitation.

Herr Bauer, therefore, dealt with the *religious* and *theological* question in the *religious* and *theological* way, if only because he saw in the “religious” question of the time a “*purely religious*” question. His “*correct setting* of the question” set the question “correctly” only in respect of his “*own ability*”—to answer!

Let us now go on to the political part of the *Jewish question*.

The *Jews* (like the Christians) are fully *politically emancipated* in various states. Both Jews and Christians are far from being *humanly* emancipated. Hence there must be a *difference* between *political* and *human* emancipation. The essence of *political* emancipation, i.e., of the developed, modern state, must therefore be studied. On the other hand, states which cannot yet *politically* emancipate the Jews must be rated by comparison with the perfected political state and shown to be under-developed states.

That is the point of view from which the “*political* emancipation” of the Jews should have been dealt with and is dealt with in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*.

Herr Bauer offers the following defence of “Criticism’s” *Die Judenfrage*.

“The Jews were shown that they laboured under an illusion about *the system* from which they demanded freedom.”

Herr Bauer did show that the illusion of *the German* Jews was to demand the right to partake in the political community life in a land where there was no political community and to demand *political rights* where only political privileges existed. On the other hand, Herr Bauer was shown that he himself, no less than the Jews, laboured under “illusions” about the “German political system”. For he explained the position of the Jews in the German states as being due to the inability of “*the Christian state*” to emancipate the Jews politically. Flying in the face of the facts, he depicted the state of *privilege*, the *Christian-Germanic* state, as the Absolute Christian state. It was proved to him, on the contrary, that the politically perfected, modern state that knows no religious privileges is also the fully developed *Christian* state, and that therefore the fully developed Christian state, not only *can* emancipate the Jews but has emancipated them and by its very nature must emancipate them.

“The Jews are shown ... that they are under the greatest illusion about themselves when they think they are demanding *freedom* and the recognition of *free humanity*, whereas for them it is, and can be, only a question of a special *privilege*.”

Freedom! Recognition of free humanity! Special privilege! Edifying words by which to by-pass certain questions apologetically!

Freedom? It was a question of *political* freedom. Herr Bauer was shown that when the Jew demands freedom and nevertheless refuses to renounce his religion, he “*is engaging in politics*” and sets no condition that is contrary to *political* freedom. Herr Bauer was shown that it is by no means contrary to political emancipation to *divide* man into the non-religious *citizen* and the religious *private individual*. He was shown that just as the state emancipates itself from religion by emancipating itself from *state religion* and leaving religion to itself within civil society, so the individual emancipates himself *politically* from religion by regarding it no longer as a *public matter* but as a *private matter*. Finally, it was shown that the *terroristic* attitude of the French Revolution to religion, far from refuting this conception, bears it out.

Instead of studying the real attitude of the *modern* state to religion, Herr Bauer thought it necessary to imagine a *Critical* state, a state which is nothing but the *Critic of theology inflated into a state* in Herr Bauer's imagination. If Herr Bauer is caught up in *politics* he continually makes politics a prisoner of his faith, *Critical* faith. Insofar as he deals with the state he always makes out of it an *argument* against "the adversary", *un-Critical* religion and theology. The state acts as executor of *Critical-theological* cherished desires.

When Herr Bauer had first freed himself from *orthodox*, *un-Critical theology*, *political authority* took for him the place of *religious authority*. His faith in Jehovah changed into faith in the Prussian state. In Bruno Bauer's work *Die evangelische Landeskirche*,^a not only the Prussian state, but, quite consistently, the Prussian royal house too, was made into an *absolute*. In reality Herr Bauer had no *political* interest in that state; its merit, in the eyes of "Criticism", was rather that it abolished dogmas by means of the *Unified Church*³⁸ and suppressed the dissenting sects with the help of the police.

The political movement that began in the year 1840 redeemed Herr Bauer from *his conservative politics* and raised him for a moment to *liberal* politics. But here again politics was in reality only a *pretext* for theology. In his work *Die gute Sache der Freiheit und meine eigene Angelegenheit*, the free state is the Critic of the theological faculty in Bonn and an argument against religion. In *Die Judenfrage* the contradiction between state and religion is the main interest, so that the criticism of political emancipation changes into a criticism of the Jewish religion. In his latest political work, *Staat, Religion und Parthei*, the most secret cherished desire of the Critic inflated into a state is at last expressed. *Religion* is *sacrificed to the state* or rather the state is only the *means* by which the opponent of "Criticism", *un-Critical* religion and theology, is done to death. Finally, after *Criticism* has been redeemed, if only apparently, from all politics by the socialist ideas, which have been spreading in Germany from 1843 onwards, in the same way as it was redeemed from its conservative politics by the political movement after 1840, it is finally able to proclaim its writings against *un-Critical* theology to be social and to indulge unhindered in its own *Critical* theology, the contrasting of Spirit and Mass, as the annunciation of the Critical Saviour and Redeemer of the world.

Let us return to our subject!

^a [B. Bauer,] *Die evangelische Landeskirche Preussens und die Wissenschaft*.—Ed.

Recognition of free humanity? "Free humanity", recognition of which the Jews did not merely think they wanted, but really did want, is the same "free humanity" which found *classic* recognition in the so-called universal *rights of man*. Herr Bauer himself explicitly treated the Jews' efforts for recognition of their free humanity as their efforts to obtain the universal *rights of man*.

In the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* it was demonstrated to Herr Bauer that this "free humanity" and the "recognition" of it are nothing but the recognition of the *egoistic civil individual* and of the *unrestrained* movement of the spiritual and material elements which are the content of his life situation, the content of *present-day* civil life; that the *rights of man* do not, therefore, free man from religion, but give him *freedom of religion*; that they do not free him from property, but procure for him *freedom of property*; that they do not free him from the filth of gain, but rather give him *freedom of gainful occupation*.

It was shown that the *recognition of the rights of man* by the *modern state* has no other meaning than the *recognition of slavery* by the *state of antiquity* had. In other words, just as the ancient state had slavery as its *natural basis*, the *modern state* has as its *natural basis* civil society and the *man* of civil society, i.e., the independent man linked with other men only by the ties of private interest and *unconscious* natural necessity, the *slave* of labour for gain and of his own as well as other men's *selfish* need. The modern state has recognised this its natural basis as such in the *universal rights of man*. It did not create it. As it was the product of civil society driven beyond the old political bonds by its own development, the modern state, for its part, now recognised the womb from which it sprang and its basis by the *declaration* of the *rights of man*. Hence, the *political* emancipation of the Jews and the granting to them of the "*rights of man*" is an act the two sides of which are mutually dependent. Herr Riesser correctly expresses the meaning of the Jews' desire for recognition of their free humanity when he demands, among other things, the freedom of movement, sojourn, travel, earning one's living, etc. These manifestations of "*free humanity*" are explicitly recognised as such in the French Declaration of the Rights of Man. The Jew has all the more right to the recognition of his "free humanity" as "free civil society" is of a thoroughly commercial and Jewish nature, and the Jew is a necessary member of it. The *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* further demonstrated why the member of civil society is called, *par excellence*, "Man" and why the rights of man are called "inborn rights".

The only Critical thing *Criticism* could say about the rights of man was that they are *not* inborn but arose in the course of history. That much *Hegel* had already told us. Finally, to its assertion that both Jews and Christians, in order to grant or receive the universal rights of man, *must sacrifice the privilege of faith*—the Critical theologian supposes his *one* fixed idea at the basis of all things—there was specially counterposed the fact contained in all un-Critical declarations of the rights of man that the *right* to believe what one wishes, the right to practise any religion, is explicitly recognised as a *universal right of man*. Besides, “*Criticism*” should have known that Hébert’s party in particular was defeated on the pretext that it attacked the rights of man by attacking *freedom of religion*,³⁹ and that similarly the rights of man were invoked later when freedom of worship was restored.⁴⁰

“As far as *political* essence is concerned, *Criticism* followed its contradictions to the point where the *contradiction between theory and practice* had been most thoroughly elaborated during the past fifty years—to the *French representative system*, in which the freedom of theory is disavowed by practice and the freedom of practical life seeks in vain its expression in theory.

“Now that the basic illusion has been done away with, the *contradiction* proved in the *debates in the French Chamber*, the contradiction between *free theory* and the *practical validity of privileges*, between the legal validity of privileges and a *public system* in which the *egoism of the pure individual* tries to dominate the *exclusivity of the privileged*, should be conceived as a *general contradiction* in this sphere.”

The contradiction that *Criticism* proved in the debates in the French Chamber was nothing but a contradiction of *constitutionalism*. Had *Criticism* grasped it as a *general* contradiction it would have grasped the general contradiction of constitutionalism. Had it gone still further than in its opinion it “should have” gone, had it, to be precise, gone as far as the *abolition* of this general contradiction, it would have proceeded correctly from constitutional *monarchy* to arrive at the *democratic representative state*, the perfected modern state. Far from having criticised the essence of political emancipation and proved its definite relation to the essence of man, it would have arrived only at the *fact* of political emancipation, at the fully developed modern state, that is to say, only at the point where the existence of the modern state conforms to its essence and where, therefore, not only the relative, but the absolute *imperfections*, those which constitute its very essence, can be observed and described.

The above-quoted “Critical” passage is all the more valuable as it proves beyond any doubt that at the very moment when *Criticism* sees the “*political essence*” far below itself, it is, on the contrary, far below the political essence; it still needs to find in the

latter the solution of *its own* contradictions and it still persists in not giving a thought to the *modern principle of the state*.

To "*free theory*" Criticism contrasts the "*practical validity of privileges*"; to the "*legal validity of privileges*" it contrasts the "*public system*".

In order not to misinterpret the opinion of *Criticism*, let us recall the contradiction it proved in the debates in the French Chamber, the very contradiction which "should have been conceived" as a *general* one. One of the questions dealt with was the fixing of a day in the week on which children would be freed from work. *Sunday* was suggested. One deputy moved to leave out mention of *Sunday* in the law as being unconstitutional. The Minister Martin (du Nord) saw in this motion an attempt to proclaim that Christianity had ceased to exist. Monsieur Crémieux declared on behalf of the French Jews that the Jews, out of respect for the religion of the great majority of Frenchmen, did not object to *Sunday* being mentioned. Now, according to *free theory*, Jews and Christians are equal, but according to this practice Christians have a privilege over Jews; for otherwise how could the *Sunday* of the Christians have a place in a law made for all Frenchmen? Should not the Jewish Sabbath have the same right, etc.? Or in the practical life of the French too, the Jew is not really oppressed by Christian privileges; but the law does not dare to express this practical equality. All the contradictions in the political essence expounded by Herr Bauer in *Die Judenfrage* are of this kind—contradictions of *constitutionalism*, which is, in general, the contradiction between the modern representative state and the old state of privileges.

Herr Bauer is committing a very serious oversight when he thinks he is rising from the *political* to the *human* essence by conceiving and criticising this contradiction as a "general" one. He would thus only rise from partial political emancipation to full political emancipation, from the constitutional state to the democratic representative state.

Herr Bauer thinks that by the abolition of *privilege* the *object* of privilege is also abolished. Concerning the statement of Monsieur Martin (du Nord), he says:

"There is no longer any religion when there is no longer any privileged religion. Take from religion its exclusive power and it will no longer exist."^a

Just as *industrial activity* is not abolished when the *privileges of the*

^a This passage from B. Bauer's *Die Judenfrage* (p. 66) is quoted by Marx in his article "On the Jewish Question" (see present edition, Vol. 3, p. 149).—Ed.

trades, guilds and corporations are abolished, but, on the contrary, real *industry* begins only after the abolition of these privileges; just as *ownership of the land* is not abolished when *privileged* land-ownership is abolished, but, on the contrary, begins its universal movement only with the abolition of privileges and with the free division and free sale of land; just as *trade* is not abolished by the abolition of *trade privileges*, but finds its true realisation in free trade; so religion develops in its *practical* universality only where there is no *privileged* religion (cf. the North American States).

The modern "*public system*", the developed modern state, is not based, as *Criticism* thinks, on a society of privileges, but on a society in which *privileges have been abolished and dissolved*, on developed *civil society* in which the vital elements which were still politically bound under the privilege system have been set free. Here no "*privileged exclusivity*," stands opposed either to any other exclusivity or to the public system. Free industry and free trade abolish privileged exclusivity and thereby the struggle between the privileged exclusivities. They replace exclusivity with man freed from privilege—which isolates from the general totality but at the same time unites in a smaller exclusive totality—man no longer bound to other men even by the *semblance* of a common bond. Thus they produce the universal struggle of man against man, individual against individual. In the same way *civil society* as a whole is this war against one another of all individuals, who are no longer isolated from one another by anything but their *individuality*, and the universal unrestrained movement of the elementary forces of life freed from the fetters of privilege. The contradiction between the *democratic representative state* and *civil society* is the completion of the *classic* contradiction between public *commonweal* and *slavery*. In the modern world each person is *at the same time* a member of slave society and of the public commonweal. Precisely the *slavery of civil society* is *in appearance* the greatest *freedom* because it is in appearance the fully developed *independence* of the individual, who considers as his *own* freedom the uncurbed movement, no longer bound by a common bond or by man, of the estranged elements of his life, such as property, industry, religion, etc., whereas actually this is his fully developed slavery and inhumanity. *Law* has here taken the place of *privilege*.

It is therefore only here, where we find no contradiction between free theory and the practical validity of privilege, but, on the contrary, the practical abolition of privilege, *free industry*, *free trade*, etc., conform to "free theory", where the public system is

not opposed by any privileged exclusivity, where the contradiction expounded by Criticism is *abolished*—only here is the *fully developed modern state to be found*.

Here also reigns the *reverse* of the law which Herr Bauer, on the occasion of the debates in the French Chamber, formulated in perfect agreement with Monsieur Martin (du Nord):

“Just as M. Martin (du Nord) saw the proposal to omit mention of *Sunday* in the law as a motion to declare that Christianity has ceased to exist, with equal reason (*and this reason is very well founded*)—the declaration that the *law of the Sabbath* is no longer binding on the Jews would be a *proclamation abolishing Judaism*.”^a

It is just *the opposite* in the developed modern state. The state declares that religion, like the other elements of civil life, only *begins* to exist in its full scope when the state declares it to be *non-political* and therefore leaves it to itself. To the dissolution of the *political* existence of these elements, as for example, the dissolution of *property* by the abolition of the *property qualification for electors*, the dissolution of *religion* by the abolition of the *state church*, to this proclamation of their civil death corresponds their most vigorous life, which henceforth obeys its own laws undisturbed and develops to its full scope.

Anarchy is the law of civil society emancipated from divisive privileges, and the *anarchy of civil society* is the basis of the modern *public system*, just as the public system in its turn is the guarantee of that anarchy. To the same great extent that the two are opposed to each other they also determine each other.

It is clear how capable *Criticism* is of assimilating the “new”. But if we remain within the bounds of “pure Criticism”, the question arises: Why did Criticism not conceive as a *universal* contradiction the contradiction which it disclosed in connection with the debates in the French Chamber, although in its own opinion that is what “*should have*” been done?

“That step was, however, then *impossible*—not only because ... not only because ... *but also* because without that *last remnant* of inner involvement with its opposite Criticism was *impossible* and *could not have come to the point* from which only *one step* remained to be taken.”^b

It was impossible ... because ... it was impossible! *Criticism* assures us, moreover, that the fateful “*one step*” necessary “to come to the point from which only *one step* remained to be taken”

^a This passage from B. Bauer's *Die Judenfrage* (p. 71) is quoted by Marx in his article “On the Jewish Question” (see present edition, Vol. 3, p. 149).—*Ed.*

^b Here and below quotations are taken from the article “*Was ist jetzt der Gegenstand der Kritik?*” (*Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, Heft VIII).—*Ed.*

was impossible. Who will dispute that? In order to be able to come to a point from which only “one step” remains to be taken, it is absolutely impossible to take that “one step” more which leads over the point beyond which still “one step” remains to be taken.

All’s well that ends well! At the end of the encounter with the *Mass*, which is hostile to *Criticism’s* *Die Judenfrage*, “*Criticism*” admits that its conception of the “rights of man”, its

“appraisal of religion in the French Revolution”, the “free political essence it pointed to occasionally at the conclusion of its considerations”, in short, the whole “period of the French Revolution, was for *Criticism* neither more nor less than a symbol—that is to say, not the period of the revolutionary efforts of the French in the exact and prosaic sense—a symbol and therefore only a fantastic expression of the shapes which it saw at the end”.

We shall not deprive *Criticism* of the consolation that when it sinned politically it did so only at the “conclusion” and at the “end” of its works. A notorious drunkard used to console himself with the thought that he was never drunk before midnight.

In the sphere of the “Jewish question”, *Criticism* has indisputably been winning more and more ground from the Enemy. In No. 1 of the “Jewish question”, the treatise of “*Criticism*” defended by Herr Bauer was still absolute and revealed the “true” and “general” significance of the “Jewish question”. In No. 2 *Criticism* had neither the “will” nor the “right” to go beyond *Criticism*. In No. 3 it had still to take “one step”, but that step was “impossible”—because it was—“impossible”. It was not its “will or right” but its involvement in its “opposite” that prevented it from taking that “one step”. It would very much have liked to clear the last obstacle, but unfortunately a *last remnant* of *Mass* stuck to its Critical seven-league boots.

c) Critical Battle Against the French Revolution

The narrow-mindedness of the *Mass* forced the “Spirit”, *Criticism*, Herr Bauer, to consider the *French Revolution* not as the time of the revolutionary efforts of the French in the “prosaic sense” but “only” as the “symbol and fantastic expression” of the Critical figments of his own brain. *Criticism* does penance for its “oversight” by submitting the *Revolution* to a fresh examination. At the same time it punishes the seducer of its innocence—“the *Mass*”—by communicating to it the results of this “fresh examination”.

“The *French Revolution* was an experiment which still belonged entirely to the eighteenth century.”

The chronological truth that an experiment of the eighteenth century like the French Revolution is still entirely an experiment of the eighteenth century, and not, for example, an experiment of the nineteenth, seems "still entirely" to be one of those truths which "are self-evident from the start". But in the terminology of *Criticism*, which is very prejudiced against "crystal-clear" truths, a truth like that is called an "*examination*" and therefore naturally has its place in a "fresh examination of the Revolution".

"The ideas to which the French Revolution gave rise did not, however, lead beyond the *order of things* that it wanted to abolish by force."

Ideas can never lead beyond an old world order but only beyond the ideas of the old world order. Ideas *cannot carry out anything* at all. In order to carry out ideas men are needed who can exert practical force. In its literal *sense* the Critical sentence is therefore another truth that is self-evident, and therefore another "*examination*".

Undeterred by this examination, the French Revolution gave rise to ideas which led beyond the *ideas* of the entire old world order. The revolutionary movement which began in 1789 in the *Cercle social*,⁴¹ which in the middle of its course had as its chief representatives *Leclerc* and *Roux*, and which finally with *Babeuf's* conspiracy was temporarily defeated, gave rise to the *communist* idea which *Babeuf's* friend *Buonarroti* re-introduced in France after the Revolution of 1830. This idea, consistently developed, is the *idea* of the *new world order*.

"After the Revolution had therefore" (!) "abolished the feudal barriers in the life of the people, it was compelled to satisfy and even to inflame the pure egoism of the nation and, on the other hand, to curb it by its necessary complement, the recognition of a supreme being, by this higher confirmation of the general state system, which has to hold together the individual self-seeking atoms."

The egoism of the nation is the natural egoism of the general state system, as opposed to the egoism of the feudal classes. The supreme being is the higher confirmation of the general state system, and hence also of the nation. Nevertheless, the supreme being is supposed to *curb* the egoism of the nation, that is, of the general state system! A really Critical task, to curb egoism by means of its confirmation and even of its *religious* confirmation, i.e., by recognising that it is of a superhuman nature and therefore free of human restraint! The creators of the supreme being were not aware of this, their Critical intention.

Monsieur *Buchez*, who bases national fanaticism on religious fanaticism, understands his hero *Robespierre* better.⁴²

Nationalism [*Nationalität*] led to the downfall of Rome and Greece. *Criticism* therefore says nothing specific about the French Revolution when it maintains that nationalism caused its downfall, and it says just as little about the nation when it defines its egoism as *pure*. This pure egoism appears rather to be a very dark, spontaneous egoism, combined with flesh and blood, when compared, for example, with the pure egoism of *Fichte's* "ego". But if, in contrast to the egoism of the feudal classes, its purity is only relative, no "fresh examination of the revolution" was needed to see that the egoism which has a nation as its content is more general or purer than that which has as its content a particular social class or a particular corporation.

Criticism's explanations about the general state system are no less instructive. They are confined to saying that the general state system must hold together the individual self-seeking atoms.

Speaking exactly and in the prosaic sense, the members of civil society are not *atoms*. The *specific property* of the atom is that it has *no* properties and is therefore not connected with beings outside it by any relationship determined by its own *natural necessity*. The atom *has no needs*, it is *self-sufficient*; the world outside it is an absolute *vacuum*, i.e., is contentless, senseless, meaningless, just because the atom has *all fullness* in itself. The egoistic individual in civil society may in his non-sensuous imagination and lifeless abstraction inflate himself into an *atom*, i.e., into an unrelated, self-sufficient, wantless, *absolutely full*, blessed being. Unblessed *sensuous reality* does not bother about his imagination, each of his senses compels him to believe in the existence^a of the world and of individuals outside him, and even his *profane* stomach reminds him every day that the world *outside* him is not *empty*, but is what really *fills*. Every activity and property of his being, every one of his vital urges, becomes a *need*, a *necessity*, which his *self-seeking* transforms into seeking for other things and human beings outside him. But since the need of one individual has no self-evident meaning for another egoistic individual capable of satisfying that need, and therefore no direct connection with its satisfaction, each individual has to create this connection; it thus becomes the intermediary between the need of another and the objects of this need. Therefore, it is *natural necessity*, the *essential human properties* however estranged they may seem to be, and *interest* that hold the members of civil society together; *civil*, not *political* life is their *real*

^a There is evidently an error in the original: "an den Sinn" instead of "an das Sein".—*Ed.*

tie. It is therefore not the *state* that holds the *atoms* of civil society together, but the fact that they are *atoms* only in *imagination*, in the *heaven* of their fancy, but in *reality* beings tremendously different from atoms, in other words, not *divine egoists*, but *egoistic human beings*. Only *political superstition* still imagines today that civil life must be held together by the state, whereas in reality, on the contrary, the state is held together by civil life.

“Robespierre’s and Saint-Just’s tremendous idea of making a ‘free people’ which would live only according to the rules of *justice* and *virtue*—see, for example, Saint-Just’s report on Danton’s crimes and his other report on the general police—could be maintained for a certain time only by terror and was a *contradiction against which* the vulgar, self-seeking elements of the *popular community* reacted in the cowardly and insidious way that was only to be expected from them.”

This phrase of *Absolute Criticism*, which describes a “free people” as a “*contradiction*” *against* which the elements of the “*popular community*” are bound to react, is absolutely hollow, for according to Robespierre and Saint-Just *liberty, justice* and *virtue* could, on the contrary, be only manifestations of the life of the “*people*” and only properties of the “*popular community*”. Robespierre and Saint-Just spoke explicitly of “*liberty, justice* and *virtue*” of *ancient times*, belonging only to the “*popular community*”. *Spartans, Athenians* and *Romans* at the time of their greatness were “free, just and virtuous peoples”.

“What,” asks Robespierre in his speech on the principles of public morals (sitting of the Convention on February 5, 1794), “is the *fundamental principle* of democratic or popular government? It is *virtue*, I mean *public* virtue, which worked such miracles in *Greece* and *Rome* and which will work still greater ones in republican France; virtue which is nothing but love of one’s country and its laws.”⁴³

Robespierre then explicitly calls the *Athenians* and *Spartans* “*peuples libres*”.^a He continually recalls the ancient *popular community* and quotes its heroes as well as its corrupters—Lycurgus, Demosthenes, Miltiades, Aristides, Brutus and Catilina, Caesar, Clodius and Piso.

In his report on Danton’s arrest (referred to by Criticism) Saint-Just says explicitly:

“The world has been empty since the *Romans*, and only their memory fills it and still prophesies *liberty*.”⁴⁴

His accusation is composed in the ancient style and directed against Danton as against *Catilina*.

In Saint-Just’s other report, the one on the *general police*,⁴⁵ the

^a Free peoples.—Ed.

republican is described exactly in the *ancient* sense, as *inflexible, modest, simple* and so on. The *police* should be an institution of the same nature as the Roman *ensorship*.—He does not fail to mention Codrus, Lycurgus, Caesar, Cato, Catilina, Brutus, Antonius, and Cassius. Finally, *Saint-Just* describes the “*liberty, justice and virtue*” that he demands in *a single word* when he says:

“Que les hommes révolutionnaires soient des *Romains*.”^a

Robespierre, Saint-Just and their party fell because they confused the ancient, *realistic-democratic commonweal* based on *real slavery* with the *modern spiritualistic-democratic representative state*, which is based on *emancipated slavery, bourgeois society*. What a terrible illusion it is to have to recognise and sanction in the *rights of man* modern bourgeois society, the society of industry, of universal competition, of private interest freely pursuing its aims, of anarchy, of self-estranged natural and spiritual individuality, and at the same time to want afterwards to annul the *manifestations of the life* of this society in particular individuals and simultaneously to want to model the *political head* of that society in the manner of *antiquity!*

The illusion appears tragic when Saint-Just, on the day of his execution, pointed to the large table of the *Rights of Man* hanging in the hall of the *Conciergerie* and said with proud dignity: “*C’est pourtant moi qui ai fait cela*.”^b It was just this table that proclaimed the *right* of a *man* who cannot be the man of the ancient commonweal any more than his *economic* and *industrial* conditions are those of *ancient* times.

This is not the place to vindicate the illusion of the *Terrorists* historically.

“After the fall of Robespierre the *political enlightenment* and *movement* hastened to the point where they became the prey of *Napoleon* who, shortly after 18 Brumaire, could say: ‘With my prefects, gendarmes and priests I can do what I like with France.’”

Profane history, on the other hand, reports: After the fall of Robespierre, the *political enlightenment*, which formerly had been *overreaching* itself and had been *extravagant*, began for the first time to develop *prosaically*. Under the government of the *Directory*,⁴⁶ *bourgeois society*, freed by the Revolution itself from the trammels of feudalism and officially recognised in spite of the *Terror’s* wish to sacrifice it to an ancient form of political life,

^a “Let revolutionary men be *Romans*.”—*Ed.*

^b “Yet it was I who made that.”—*Ed.*

broke out in powerful streams of life. A storm and stress of commercial enterprise, a passion for enrichment, the exuberance of the new bourgeois life, whose first self-enjoyment is pert, light-hearted, frivolous and intoxicating; a *real* enlightenment of the *land* of France, the feudal structure of which had been smashed by the hammer of the Revolution and which, by the first feverish efforts of the numerous new owners, had become the object of all-round cultivation; the first moves of industry that had now become free—these were some of the signs of life of the newly emerged bourgeois society. *Bourgeois society* is *positively* represented by the *bourgeoisie*. The bourgeoisie, therefore, *begins* its rule. The *rights of man* cease to exist *merely* in *theory*.

It was not the revolutionary movement as a whole that became the prey of Napoleon on 18 Brumaire, as *Criticism* in its faith in a Herr von Rotteck or Welcker believes⁴⁷; it was the *liberal bourgeoisie*. One only needs to read the speeches of the legislators of the time to be convinced of this. One has the impression of coming from the National Convention into a modern Chamber of Deputies.

Napoleon represented the last battle of *revolutionary terror* against the *bourgeois society* which had been proclaimed by this same Revolution, and against its policy. Napoleon, of course, already discerned the essence of the *modern state*; he understood that it is based on the unhampered development of bourgeois society, on the free movement of private interest, etc. He decided to recognise and protect this basis. He was no terrorist with his head in the clouds. Yet at the same time he still regarded the *state* as an *end in itself* and civil life only as a treasurer and his *subordinate* which must have no *will of its own*. He *perfected* the *Terror* by *substituting permanent war* for *permanent revolution*. He fed the egoism of the French nation to complete satiety but demanded also the sacrifice of bourgeois business, enjoyments, wealth, etc., whenever this was required by the political aim of conquest. If he despotically suppressed the liberalism of bourgeois society—the political idealism of its daily practice—he showed no more consideration for its essential *material* interests, trade and industry, whenever they conflicted with his political interests. His scorn of industrial *hommes d'affaires* was the complement to his scorn of *ideologists*. In his home policy, too, he combated bourgeois society as the opponent of the state which in his own person he still held to be an absolute aim in itself. Thus he declared in the State Council that he would not suffer the owner of extensive estates to cultivate them or not as he pleased. Thus, too, he conceived the plan of subordinating

trade to the state by appropriation of *roulage*.^a French businessmen took steps to anticipate the event that first shook Napoleon's power. Paris exchange brokers forced him by means of an artificially created famine to delay the opening of the Russian campaign by nearly two months and thus to launch it too late in the year.

Just as the liberal bourgeoisie was opposed once more by revolutionary terror in the person of Napoleon, so it was opposed once more by counter-revolution in the Restoration in the person of the Bourbons. Finally, in 1830 the bourgeoisie put into effect its wishes of the year 1789, with the only difference that its *political enlightenment* was now *completed*, that it no longer considered the constitutional representative state as a means for achieving the ideal of the state, the welfare of the world and universal human aims but, on the contrary, had acknowledged it as the *official* expression of its own *exclusive* power and the *political* recognition of its own *special* interests.

The history of the French Revolution, which dates from 1789, did not come to an end in 1830 with the victory of one of its components enriched by the consciousness of its own *social* importance.

d) Critical Battle Against French Materialism

"*Spinozism* dominated the eighteenth century both in its later French variety, which made matter into substance, and in deism, which conferred on matter a more spiritual name.... *Spinoza's French school* and the supporters of deism were but two sects disputing over the true meaning of *his system*.... The simple fate of this Enlightenment was its decline in *romanticism* after being obliged to surrender to the reaction which began after the French movement."

That is what *Criticism* says.

To the Critical history of French materialism we shall oppose a brief outline of its ordinary, mass-type history. We shall acknowledge with due respect the abyss between history as it really happened and history as it takes place according to the decree of "*Absolute Criticism*", the creator equally of the old and of the new. And finally, obeying the prescriptions of *Criticism*, we shall make the "Why?", "Whence?" and "Whither?" of Critical history the "object of a persevering study".

"Speaking *exactly* and in the *prosaic sense*", the French Enlightenment of the eighteenth century, and in particular *French*

^a Road haulage.—*Ed.*

materialism, was not only a struggle against the existing political institutions and the existing religion and theology; it was just as much an *open, clearly expressed* struggle against the *metaphysics of the seventeenth century*, and against *all metaphysics*, in particular that of *Descartes, Malebranche, Spinoza and Leibniz*. *Philosophy* was counterposed to *metaphysics*, just as *Feuerbach*, in his first resolute attack on *Hegel*, counterposed *sober philosophy* to *wild speculation*. Seventeenth century *metaphysics*, driven from the field by the French Enlightenment, notably, by *French materialism* of the eighteenth century, experienced a *victorious and substantial restoration* in *German philosophy*, particularly in the *speculative German philosophy* of the nineteenth century. After *Hegel* linked it in a masterly fashion with all subsequent metaphysics and with German idealism and founded a metaphysical universal kingdom, the attack on theology again corresponded, as in the eighteenth century, to an attack on *speculative metaphysics* and *metaphysics in general*. It will be defeated for ever by *materialism*, which has now been perfected by the work of *speculation* itself and coincides with *humanism*. But just as *Feuerbach* is the representative of *materialism* coinciding with *humanism* in the *theoretical* domain, French and English *socialism* and *communism* represent *materialism* coinciding with *humanism* in the *practical* domain.

“Speaking exactly and in the *prosaic sense*”, there are *two trends* in *French materialism*; one traces its origin to *Descartes*, the other to *Locke*. The latter is *mainly* a *French development* and leads directly to *socialism*. The former, *mechanical materialism*, merges with *French natural science* proper. The two trends intersect in the course of development. We have no need here to go more deeply into the *French materialism* that derives directly from *Descartes*, any more than into the *French school of Newton* and the development of *French natural science* in general.

We shall therefore merely say the following:

Descartes in his *physics* endowed *matter* with self-creative power and conceived *mechanical motion* as the manifestation of its life. He completely separated his *physics* from his *metaphysics*. *Within* his physics, *matter* is the sole *substance*, the sole basis of being and of knowledge.

Mechanical French materialism adopted *Descartes' physics* in opposition to his metaphysics. His followers were by profession *anti-metaphysicians*, i.e., *physicists*.

This school begins with the *physician Le Roy*, reaches its zenith with the physician *Cabanis*, and the physician *La Mettrie* is its centre. *Descartes* was still living when *Le Roy*, like *La Mettrie* in

the eighteenth century, transposed the Cartesian structure of the *animal* to the human soul and declared that the soul is a *modus of the body* and *ideas are mechanical motions*. Le Roy even thought Descartes had kept his real opinion secret. Descartes protested. At the end of the eighteenth century *Cabanis* perfected Cartesian materialism in his treatise: *Rapports du physique et du moral de l'homme*.⁴⁸

Cartesian materialism still exists today in France. It has achieved great successes in *mechanical natural science* which, "speaking *exactly* and in the *prosaic sense*", will be least of all reproached with *romanticism*.

The *metaphysics* of the seventeenth century, represented in France by *Descartes*, had *materialism* as its *antagonist* from its very birth. The latter's opposition to Descartes was personified by *Gassendi*, the restorer of *Epicurean* materialism. French and English materialism was always closely related to *Democritus* and *Epicurus*. Cartesian metaphysics had another opponent in the *English* materialist *Hobbes*. Gassendi and Hobbes triumphed over their opponent long after their death at the very time when metaphysics was already officially dominant in all French schools.

Voltaire pointed out that the indifference of the French of the eighteenth century to the disputes between the Jesuits and the Jansenists⁴⁹ was due less to philosophy than to *Law's* financial speculations. So the downfall of seventeenth-century metaphysics can be explained by the materialistic theory of the eighteenth century only in so far as this theoretical movement itself is explained by the practical nature of French life at that time. This life was turned to the immediate present, to worldly enjoyment and worldly interests, to the *earthly* world. Its anti-theological, anti-metaphysical, materialistic practice demanded corresponding anti-theological, anti-metaphysical, materialistic theories. Metaphysics had *in practice* lost all credit. Here we have only to indicate briefly the *theoretical* course of events.

In the seventeenth century metaphysics (cf. Descartes, Leibniz, and others) still contained a *positive*, secular element. It made discoveries in mathematics, physics and other exact sciences which seemed to come within its scope. This semblance was done away with as early as the beginning of the eighteenth century. The positive sciences broke away from metaphysics and marked out their independent fields. The whole wealth of metaphysics now consisted only of beings of thought and heavenly things, at the very time when real beings and earthly things began to be the centre of all interest. Metaphysics had become insipid. In the very

year in which Malebranche and Arnauld, the last great French metaphysicians of the seventeenth century, died, *Helvétius* and *Condillac* were born.

The man who deprived seventeenth-century metaphysics and metaphysics in general of all *credit* in the domain of *theory* was *Pierre Bayle*. His weapon was *scepticism*, which he forged out of metaphysics' own magic formulas. He himself proceeded at first from Cartesian metaphysics. Just as *Feuerbach* by combating speculative theology was driven further to combat *speculative philosophy*, precisely because he recognised in speculation the last prop of theology, because he had to force theology to retreat from pseudo-science to *crude*, repulsive *faith*, so Bayle too was driven by religious doubt to doubt about the metaphysics which was the prop of that faith. He therefore critically investigated metaphysics in its entire historical development. He became its historian in order to write the history of its death. He refuted chiefly *Spinoza* and *Leibniz*.

Pierre Bayle not only prepared the reception of materialism and of the philosophy of common sense in France by shattering metaphysics with his scepticism. He heralded the *atheistic society* which was soon to come into existence by *proving* that a society consisting only of atheists is *possible*, that an atheist *can* be a man worthy of respect, and that it is not by atheism but by superstition and idolatry that man debases himself.

To quote a French writer, *Pierre Bayle* was "*the last metaphysician in the sense of the seventeenth century and the first philosopher in the sense of the eighteenth century*".

Besides the negative refutation of seventeenth-century theology and metaphysics, a *positive, anti-metaphysical* system was required. A book was needed which would systematise and theoretically substantiate the life practice of that time. *Locke's* treatise *An Essay Concerning Humane Understanding* came from across the Channel as if in answer to a call. It was welcomed enthusiastically like a long-awaited guest.

The question arises: Is *Locke* perhaps a disciple of *Spinoza*? "Profane" history can answer:

Materialism is the *natural-born* son of *Great Britain*.⁵⁰ Already the British schoolman, *Duns Scotus*, asked, "*whether it was impossible for matter to think?*"

In order to effect this miracle, he took refuge in God's omnipotence, i.e., he made *theology* preach *materialism*. Moreover, he was a *nominalist*.⁵¹ Nominalism, the *first form* of materialism, is chiefly found among the *English* schoolmen.

The real progenitor of *English materialism* and all *modern experimental science* is *Bacon*. To him natural philosophy is the only true philosophy, and *physics* based upon the experience of the senses is the chiefest part of natural philosophy. *Anaxagoras* and his *homoeomeriae*⁵², *Democritus* and his atoms, he often quotes as his authorities. According to him the *senses* are infallible and the *source* of all knowledge. All science is based on *experience*, and consists in subjecting the data furnished by the senses to a *rational method* of investigation. Induction, analysis, comparison, observation, experiment, are the principal forms of such a rational method. Among the qualities inherent in *matter*, *motion* is the first and foremost, not only in the form of *mechanical* and *mathematical* motion, but chiefly in the form of an *impulse*, a *vital spirit*, a *tension*—or a ‘*Qual*’,^{52a} to use a term of *Jakob Böhme*’s—of matter. The primary forms of matter are the living, individualising *forces of being* inherent in it and producing the distinctions between the species.

In *Bacon*, its first creator, materialism still holds back within itself in a naive way the germs of a many-sided development. On the one hand, matter, surrounded by a sensuous, poetic glamour, seems to attract man’s whole entity by winning smiles. On the other, the aphoristically formulated doctrine pullulates with inconsistencies imported from theology.

In its further evolution, materialism becomes *one-sided*. *Hobbes* is the man who *systematises Baconian* materialism. Knowledge based upon the senses loses its poetic blossom, it passes into the abstract experience of the *geometrician*. *Physical* motion is sacrificed to *mechanical* or *mathematical* motion; *geometry* is proclaimed as the queen of sciences. Materialism takes to *misanthropy*. If it is to overcome its opponent, *misanthropic*, *fleshless* spiritualism, and that on the latter’s own ground, materialism has to chastise its own flesh and turn *ascetic*. Thus it passes into an *intellectual entity*; but thus, too, it evolves all the consistency, regardless of consequences, characteristic of the intellect.

Hobbes, as *Bacon*’s continuator, argues thus: if all human knowledge is furnished by the senses, then our concepts, notions, and ideas are but the phantoms of the real world, more or less divested of its sensual form. Philosophy can but give names to these phantoms. One name may be applied to more than one of them. There may even be names of names. But it would imply a contradiction if, on the one hand, we maintained that all ideas had their origin in the world of sensation, and, on the other, that a word was more than a word; that besides the beings known to us

by our senses, beings which are one and all individuals, there existed also beings of a general, not individual, nature. An *unbodily substance* is the same absurdity as an *unbodily body*. *Body, being, substance*, are but different terms for the same *reality*. It is impossible to separate thought from matter *that* thinks. This matter is the substratum of all changes going on in the world. The word *infinite* is *meaningless*, unless it states that our mind is capable of performing an endless process of addition. Only material things being perceptible, knowable to us, we cannot know *anything* about the existence of God. My own existence alone is certain. Every human passion is a mechanical movement which has a beginning and an end. The objects of impulse are what we call good. Man is subject to the same laws as nature. Power and freedom are identical.

Hobbes had systematised Bacon without, however, furnishing a proof for Bacon's fundamental principle, the origin of all human knowledge and ideas from the world of sensation.

It was *Locke* who, in his *Essay on the Humane Understanding*, supplied this proof.

Hobbes had shattered the *theistic* prejudices of Baconian materialism; Collins, Dodwell, Coward, Hartley, Priestley, similarly shattered the last theological bars that still hemmed in Locke's sensationalism. At all events, for materialists, deism is but an easy-going way of getting rid of religion.

We have already mentioned how opportune Locke's work was for the French. Locke founded the philosophy of *bon sens*, of common sense; i.e., he said indirectly that there cannot be any philosophy at variance with the healthy human senses and reason based on them.

Locke's *immediate* pupil, *Condillac*, who translated him into *French*, at once applied Locke's sensualism against seventeenth-century *metaphysics*. He proved that the French had rightly rejected this metaphysics as a mere botch work of fancy and theological prejudice. He published a refutation of the systems of *Descartes*, *Spinoza*, *Leibniz* and *Malebranche*.

In his *Essai sur l'origine des connaissances humaines* he expounded Locke's ideas and proved that not only the soul, but the senses too, not only the art of creating ideas, but also the art of sensuous perception, are matters of *experience* and *habit*. The whole development of man therefore depends on *education* and *external circumstances*. It was only by *eclectic* philosophy that Condillac was ousted from the French schools.

The difference between *French* and *English* materialism reflects

the difference between the two nations. The French imparted to English materialism wit, flesh and blood, and eloquence. They gave it the temperament and grace that it lacked. They *civilised* it.

In *Helvétius*, who also based himself on Locke, materialism assumed a really French character. Helvétius conceived it immediately in its application to social life (Helvétius, *De l'homme*).⁵³ The sensory qualities and self-love, enjoyment and correctly understood personal interest are the basis of all morality. The natural equality of human intelligences, the unity of progress of reason and progress of industry, the natural goodness of man, and the omnipotence of education, are the main features in his system.

In *La Mettrie's* works we find a synthesis of Cartesian and English materialism. He makes use of Descartes' physics in detail. His *L'homme machine* is a treatise after the model of Descartes' animal-machine. The physical part of Holbach's *Système de la nature* is also a result of the combination of French and English materialism, while the moral part is based essentially on the morality of Helvétius.⁵⁴ *Robinet (De la nature)*, the French materialist who had the most connection with metaphysics and was therefore praised by Hegel, refers explicitly to *Leibniz*.

We need not dwell on Volney, Dupuis, Diderot and others, any more than on the physiocrats, after we have proved the dual origin of French materialism from Descartes' physics and English materialism, and the opposition of French materialism to seventeenth-century *metaphysics*, to the metaphysics of Descartes, Spinoza, Malebranche, and Leibniz. This opposition only became evident to the Germans after they themselves had come into opposition to *speculative metaphysics*.

Just as *Cartesian* materialism passes into *natural science proper*, the other trend of French materialism leads directly to *socialism* and *communism*.

There is no need for any great penetration to see from the teaching of materialism on the original goodness and equal intellectual endowment of men, the omnipotence of experience, habit and education, and the influence of environment on man, the great significance of industry, the justification of enjoyment, etc., how necessarily materialism is connected with communism and socialism. If man draws all his knowledge, sensation, etc., from the world of the senses and the experience gained in it, then what has to be done is to arrange the empirical world in such a way that man experiences and becomes accustomed to what is truly human in it and that he becomes aware of himself as man. If correctly understood interest is the principle of all morality, man's

private interest must be made to coincide with the interest of humanity. If man is unfree in the materialistic sense, i.e., is free not through the negative power to avoid this or that, but through the positive power to assert his true individuality, crime must not be punished in the individual, but the anti-social sources of crime must be destroyed, and each man must be given social scope for the vital manifestation of his being. If man is shaped by environment, his environment must be made human. If man is social by nature, he will develop his true nature only in society, and the power of his nature must be measured not by the power of the separate individual but by the power of society.

These and similar propositions are to be found almost literally even in the oldest French materialists. This is not the place to assess them. The apologia of vices by *Mandeville*, one of Locke's early English followers, is typical of the socialist tendencies of materialism. He proves that in *modern society vice is indispensable and useful*.^a This was by no means an apologia for modern society.

Fourier proceeds directly from the teaching of the French materialists. The *Babouvists* were crude, uncivilised materialists, but developed communism, too, derives *directly* from *French materialism*. The latter returned to its mother-country, *England*, in the form *Helvétius* gave it. *Bentham* based his system of *correctly understood interest* on *Helvétius'* morality, and *Owen* proceeded from *Bentham's* system to found English communism. Exiled to England, the Frenchman *Cabet* came under the influence of communist ideas there and on his return to France became the most popular, if the most superficial, representative of communism. Like *Owen*, the more scientific French Communists, *Dézamy*, *Gay* and others, developed the teaching of *materialism* as the teaching of *real humanism* and the *logical* basis of *communism*.

Where, then, did Herr Bauer or, *Criticism*, manage to acquire the documents for the Critical history of French materialism?

1) Hegel's *Geschichte der Philosophie*^b presents French materialism as the *realisation* of the Substance of Spinoza, which at any rate is far more comprehensible than "the French school of Spinoza".

2) Herr *Bauer* read Hegel's *Geschichte der Philosophie* as saying that French materialism was the *school* of Spinoza. Then, as he found in another of Hegel's works that deism and materialism are *two parties* representing *one and the same* basic principle, he

^a Bernard de Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees: or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits*.—Ed.

^b G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie*.—Ed.

concluded that Spinoza had *two* schools which disputed over the meaning of his system. Herr Bauer could have found the supposed explanation in Hegel's *Phänomenologie*, where it is said:

"Regarding that Absolute Being, *Enlightenment* itself falls out with itself ... and is divided between the views of *two parties*.... The one ... calls *Absolute Being* that predicateless Absolute ... the other calls it *matter* Both are entirely the *same* notion—the distinction lies not in the objective fact, but purely in the diversity of starting-point adopted by the two developments" (Hegel, *Phänomenologie*, pp. 420, 421, 422).^a

3) Finally Herr Bauer could find, again in Hegel, that when Substance does not develop into a concept and self-consciousness, it degenerates into "romanticism". The journal *Hallische Jahrbücher* at one time developed a similar theory.

But at all costs *the "Spirit"* had to decree a "*foolish destiny*" for its "*adversary*", *materialism*.

Note. French materialism's connection with Descartes and Locke and the opposition of eighteenth-century philosophy to seventeenth-century metaphysics are presented in detail in most recent *French* histories of philosophy. In this respect, we had only to repeat against Critical Criticism what was already known. But the connection of eighteenth-century materialism with English and French *communism* of the nineteenth century still needs to be presented in detail. We confine ourselves here to quoting a few typical passages from Helvétius, Holbach and Bentham.

1) *Helvétius*. "Man is not wicked, but he is subordinate to his interests. One must not therefore complain of the wickedness of man but of the ignorance of the legislators, who have always placed the particular interest in opposition to the general interest."—"The moralists have so far had no success because we have to dig into legislation to pull out the roots which create vice. In New Orleans women have the right to repudiate their husbands as soon as they are tired of them. In countries like that women are not faithless, because they have no interest in being so."—"Morality is but a frivolous science when not combined with politics and legislation."—"The hypocritical moralists can be recognised on the one hand by the equanimity with which they consider vices which undermine the state, and on the other by the fury with which they condemn private vice."—"Human beings are born neither good nor bad but ready to become one or the other according as a common interest unites or divides them."—"If citizens could not achieve their own particular good without achieving the general good, there would be no vicious people except fools" (*De l'esprit*, t. I, Paris, 1822,⁵⁵ pp. 117, 240, 241, 249, 251, 369 and 339).

^a English text taken from the translation by J. B. Baille, published by Allen and Unwin, 1931, pp. 591, 592, 593.—*Ed.*

As, according to Helvétius, it is education, by which he means (cf. loc. cit., p. 390) not only education in the ordinary sense but the totality of the individual's conditions of life, which forms man, if a reform is necessary to abolish the contradiction between particular interests and those of society, so, on the other hand, a transformation of consciousness is necessary to carry out such a reform:

"Great reforms can be implemented only by weakening the stupid respect of the peoples for old laws and customs" (loc. cit., p. 260)

or, as he says elsewhere, by abolishing ignorance.

2) *Holbach*. "Ce n'est que lui-même que l'homme peut aimer dans les objets qu'il aime: ce n'est que lui-même qu'il peut affectionner dans les êtres de son espèce." "L'homme ne peut jamais se séparer de lui-même dans aucun instant de sa vie; il ne peut se perdre de vue." "C'est toujours notre utilité, notre intérêt ... qui nous fait haïr ou aimer les objets".^a (*Système social*, t. 1, Paris, 1822,⁵⁶ pp. 80, 112), but "L'homme pour son propre intérêt doit aimer les autres hommes puisqu'ils sont nécessaires à son bien-être... La morale lui prouve, que de tous les êtres le plus nécessaire à l'homme c'est l'homme"^b (p. 76). "La vraie morale, ainsi que la vraie politique, est celle qui cherche à approcher les hommes, afin de les faire travailler par des efforts réunis à leur bonheur mutuel. Toute morale qui sépare nos intérêts de ceux de nos associés est fautive, insensée, contraire à la nature"^c (p. 116). "Aimer les autres ... c'est confondre nos intérêts avec ceux de nos associés, afin de travailler à l'utilité commune... La vertu n'est que l'utilité des hommes réunis en société"^d (p. 77). "Un homme sans passions ou sans désirs cesserait d'être un homme... Parfaitement détaché de lui-même, comment pourrait-on le déterminer à s'attacher à d'autres? Un homme, indifférent pour tout, privé de passions, qui se suffirait à lui-même, ne serait plus un être sociable... La vertu n'est que la communication du bien"^e (loc. cit., p. 118). "La morale religieuse ne sert jamais à rendre les mortels plus sociables"^f (loc. cit., p. 36).

^a "Man can only love himself in the objects he loves: he can have affection only for himself in the other beings of his kind." "Man can never separate himself from himself for a single instant in his life; he cannot lose sight of himself." "It is always our convenience, our interest ... that makes us hate or love things."—*Ed.*

^b "In his own interest man must love other men, because they are necessary to his welfare.... Morality proves to him that of all beings the most necessary to man is man."—*Ed.*

^c "True morality, and true politics as well, is that which seeks to bring men nearer to one another to make them work by united efforts for their common happiness. Any morality which separates our interests from those of our associates, is false, senseless, unnatural."—*Ed.*

^d "To love others ... is to merge our interests with those of our associates, to work for the common benefit.... Virtue is but the usefulness of men united in society."—*Ed.*

^e "A man without desires or passions would cease to be a man.... Perfectly detached from himself, how could one make him decide to attach himself to others? A man indifferent to everything and having no passions, sufficient to himself, would cease to be a social being.... Virtue is but the communication of good."—*Ed.*

^f "Religious morality never served to make mortals more sociable."—*Ed.*

3) *Bentham*. We only quote one passage from Bentham in which he opposes "intérêt général in the political sense". "L'intérêt des individus ... doit céder à l'intérêt public. Mais ... qu'est-ce que cela signifie? Chaque individu n'est-il pas partie du public autant que chaque autre? Cet intérêt public, que vous personnifiez, n'est qu'un terme abstrait: il ne représente que la masse des intérêts individuels... S'il était bon de sacrifier la fortune d'un individu pour augmenter celle des autres, il serait encore mieux d'en sacrifier un second, un troisième, sans qu'on puisse assigner aucune limite.... Les intérêts individuels sont les seuls intérêts réels"^a (Bentham, *Théorie des peines et des récompenses*, Paris, 1826, 3^{ème} éd., II, p. [229], 230).

e) Final Defeat of Socialism

"The French set up a series of *systems* of how the *mass* should be *organised*, but they had to resort to *fantasy* because they considered the mass, as it is, to be usable material."

Actually, the French and the English have proved, and proved in great detail, that the present social system organises the "mass as it is" and is therefore its *organisation*. *Criticism*, following the example of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, disposes of all socialist and communist systems by means of the *fundamental* word "*fantasy*".⁵⁷

Having thus shattered foreign socialism and communism, *Criticism* transfers its war-like operations to Germany.

"When the *German Enlighteners* suddenly found themselves disappointed in their hopes of 1842 and, in their embarrassment, did not know *what to do*, news of the recent *French* systems came in the nick of time. They were henceforth able to speak of raising the lower classes of the people and at that price they were able to dispense with the question whether they did not themselves belong to the mass, which is to be found not only in the lowest strata."

Criticism has obviously so exhausted its entire provision of well meaning motives in the apologia for Bauer's literary past that it can find no other explanation for the German socialist movement than the "embarrassment" of the Enlighteners in 1842. "Fortunately they received news of the recent *French* systems." Why not of the *English*? For the decisive *Critical* reason that Herr Bauer received no news of the recent English systems through *Stein's* book: *Der Communismus und Socialismus des heutigen Frankreichs*. This is also the decisive reason why only *French* systems ever exist for *Criticism* in all its talk about socialist systems.

The German Enlighteners, *Criticism* goes on to explain, commit-

^a "The interest of individuals ... must give way to the public interest. But ... what does that mean? Is not each individual part of the public as much as any other? This public interest that you personify is but an abstract term: it represents but the mass of individual interests.... If it were good to sacrifice the fortune of one individual to increase that of others, it would be better to sacrifice that of a second, a third, and so on ad infinitum.... Individual interests are the only real interests."—*Ed.*

ted a sin against the Holy Ghost. They busied themselves with the "lower classes of the people", already in existence in 1842, in order to *get rid of* the question, which did *not* yet exist then, as to what rank they were destined to occupy in the *Critical world system* that was to be instituted in anno 1843: sheep or goat, Critical Critic or impure Mass, *Spirit* or *Matter*. But above all they should have thought seriously of the *Critical salvation of their own souls*, for of what profit is it to me if I gain the whole world, including the lower classes of the people, and suffer the loss of my own soul?

"But a spiritual being cannot be raised to a higher level unless it is altered, and it cannot be altered before it has experienced extreme resistance."

Were *Criticism* better acquainted with the movement of the lower classes of the people it would know that the extreme resistance that they have experienced from practical life is changing them every day. Modern prose and poetry emanating in England and France from the lower classes of the people would show it that the lower classes of the people know how to raise themselves spiritually even without being directly *overshadowed* by the *Holy Ghost of Critical Criticism*.

"They," Absolute Criticism continues to indulge in fancy, "whose *whole wealth* is the word '*organisation of the mass*', etc.

A lot has been said about "organisation of labour", although even this "catchword" came not from the Socialists themselves but from the politically radical party in France, which tried to be an intermediary between politics and socialism.⁵⁸ But nobody before Critical Criticism spoke of "organisation of the mass" as of a question yet to be solved. It was proved, on the contrary, that *bourgeois society*, the dissolution of the old *feudal society*, is this organisation of the mass.

Criticism puts its discovery in quotation marks [*Gänsefüsse*⁵⁹]. The goose that cackled to Herr Bauer the watchword for saving the Capitol⁵⁹ is none but his *own goose*, *Critical Criticism*. It organised the mass anew by speculatively constructing it as the Absolute Opponent of *the Spirit*. The antithesis between spirit and mass is the Critical "organisation of society", in which *the Spirit*, or *Criticism*, represents the organising *work*, the mass—the *raw material*, and history—the *product*.

After Absolute Criticism's great victories over revolution, materialism and socialism in its third campaign, we may ask: What is the *final result* of these Herculean feats? Only that these

⁵⁸ *Gänsefüsse* (=goose-feet) is a German word for quotation marks.—*Ed.*

movements *perished* without any result because they were still *criticism adulterated by mass* or *spirit adulterated by matter*. Even in Herr Bauer's own literary past *Criticism* discovered manifold adulterations of *criticism* by the mass. But *here* it writes an apologia instead of a criticism, "*places in safety*" instead of *surrendering*; instead of seeing in the *adulteration of the spirit* by the *flesh* the death of the spirit too, it reverses the case and finds in the adulteration of the *flesh* by the *spirit* the life even of *Bauer's* flesh. On the other hand, it is all the more ruthless and decisively *terroristic* as soon as imperfect criticism still adulterated by mass is no longer the *work* of Herr Bauer but of whole peoples and of a number of ordinary Frenchmen and Englishmen; as soon as imperfect criticism is no longer entitled *Die Judenfrage*, or *Die gute Sache der Freiheit*, or *Staat, Religion und Parthei*, but revolution, materialism, socialism or communism. Thus *Criticism* did away with the adulteration of spirit by matter and of criticism by mass by sparing its own flesh and crucifying the flesh of others.

One way or the other, the "spirit adulterated by flesh" or "Criticism adulterated by mass" has been cleared out of the way. Instead of this un-Critical adulteration, there appears absolutely Critical *disintegration* of spirit and flesh, criticism and mass, their pure opposition. This opposition in its *world-historic* form in which it constitutes the true historical interest of the present time, is the opposition of Herr Bauer and Co., or *the Spirit*, to the rest of the human race as *Matter*.

Revolution, materialism and communism *therefore* have fulfilled their historic mission. By their *downfall* they have prepared the way for the *Critical Lord*. Hosanna!

f) The Speculative Cycle of Absolute Criticism and the Philosophy of Self-Consciousness

Criticism, having supposedly attained *perfection* and purity in *one* domain, *therefore* committed only one *oversight*, "only" one "inconsistency", that of not being "pure" and "perfect" in *all* domains. The "one" Critical domain is none other than that of *theology*. The *pure* area of this domain extends from the *Kritik der Synoptiker* by Bruno Bauer to *Das entdeckte Christenthum* by Bruno Bauer, as the farthest frontier post.

"Modern Criticism," we are told, "had finally dealt with Spinozism; it was therefore inconsistent of it naively to presuppose *Substance* in one domain, even if only in individual, falsely expounded points."

Criticism's earlier admission that it had been involved in *political* prejudice was immediately followed by the extenuating circumstance that this involvement had been "*basically so slight!*" Now the admission of *inconsistency* is tempered by the parenthesis that it was committed only in *individual, falsely expounded points*. It was not Herr Bauer who was to blame, but the *false points* which ran away with *Criticism* like recalcitrant mounts.

A few quotations will show that by overcoming *Spinozism* *Criticism* ended up in *Hegelian idealism*, that from "*Substance*" it arrived at another *metaphysical monster*, the "*Subject*", "*Substance as a process*", "*infinite self-consciousness*", and that the final result of "*perfect*" and "*pure*" *Criticism* is the *restoration of the Christian theory of creation* in a *speculative, Hegelian* form.

Let us first open the *Kritik der Synoptiker*.

"Strauss remains true to the view that *Substance* is the Absolute. Tradition in this form of universality, which has not yet attained the real and rational certitude of universality, that certitude which can be attained only in *self-consciousness*, in the *oneness* and *infinity* of self-consciousness, is nothing but *Substance* which has emerged from its logical simplicity and has assumed a definite form of existence as the *power of the community*" (*Kritik der Synoptiker*, Vol. I, Preface, pp. vi [-vii]).

Let us leave to their fate "*the universality which attains certitude*", the "*oneness and infinity*" (the *Hegelian Notion*).— Instead of saying that the view put forward in *Strauss' theory* on the "*power of the community*" and "*tradition*" has its *abstract expression*, its logical and metaphysical *hieroglyphic*, in the *Spinozist* conception of *Substance*, Herr Bauer makes "*Substance emerge* from its *logical simplicity* and assume a definite form of existence in the *power of the community*". He applies the *Hegelian* miracle apparatus by which the "*metaphysical categories*"—abstractions extracted out of *reality*—emerge from *logic*, where they are dissolved in the "*simplicity*" of thought, and assume "*a definite form*" of physical or human existence; he makes them become incarnate. Help, *Hinrichs!*

"Mysterious," *Criticism* continues its argument against Strauss, "mysterious is this view because whenever it wishes to explain and make visible the process to which the gospel history owes its origin, it can only bring out the *semblance* of a process [...] The sentence: 'The gospel history has its source and origin in tradition', posits the same thing *twice*—'tradition' and the 'gospel history'; admittedly it does posit a relation between them, but it does not tell us to what *internal process of Substance* the development and exposition owe their origin."^a

According to *Hegel*, *Substance* must be conceived as an *internal*

^a This is also a quotation from B. Bauer's book *Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte der Synoptiker*.—Ed.

process. He characterises *development* from the viewpoint of Substance as follows:

"But if we look more closely at this *expansion*, we find that it has not come about by one and the same principle taking shape in diverse ways; it is only the shapeless repetition of one and the same thing ... keeping up a tedious semblance of diversity" (*Phänomenologie*, Preface, p. 12).

Help, Hinrichs!

"Criticism," Herr Bauer continues, "according to this, must turn against itself and look for the solution of the *mysterious substantiality* ... in what the *development of Substance itself* leads to, in the universality and certitude of the idea and its real existence, in *infinite self-consciousness*."

Hegel's criticism of the substantiality view continues:

"The compact solidity of Substance is to be opened up and Substance raised to *self-consciousness*" (loc. cit., p. 7).

Bauer's *self-consciousness*, too, is *Substance raised to self-consciousness* or *self-consciousness as Substance*; self-consciousness is transformed from an *attribute of man* into a *self-existing subject*. This is the *metaphysical-theological* caricature of man in his *severance* from nature. The *being* of this self-consciousness is therefore not *man*, but *the idea* of which self-consciousness is the *real existence*. It is the *idea become man*, and therefore it is *infinite*. All *human qualities* are thus transformed in a *mysterious way* into qualities of imaginary "*infinite self-consciousness*". Hence, Herr Bauer says *expressly* that *everything* has its *origin* and its *explanation* in this "*infinite self-consciousness*", i.e., finds in it the *basis* of its *existence*. Help, *Hinrichs!*

Herr Bauer continues:

"The power of the *substantiality relation* lies in its impulse, which leads us to the concept, the idea and self-consciousness."

Hegel says:

"Thus the *concept* is the *truth* of the substance." "The transition of the *substantiality relation* takes place through its own immanent necessity and consists in this only, that *the concept* is the *truth* of the substance." "The *idea* is the adequate concept." "The concept ... having achieved *free existence* ... is nothing but the *ego* or *pure self-consciousness*" (*Logik*, Hegel's *Werke*, 2nd ed., Vol. 5, pp. 6, 9, 229, 13).

Help, Hinrichs!

It seems comic in the extreme when Herr Bauer says in his *Literatur-Zeitung*:

"*Strauss* came to grief because he was unable to *complete the criticism of Hegel's system*, although he proved by his half-way criticism the necessity for its completion", etc.⁶⁰

It was not a *complete criticism* of Hegel's system that Herr Bauer himself thought he was giving in his *Kritik der Synoptiker* but at the most the *completion of Hegel's system*, at least in its application to theology.

He describes his criticism (*Kritik der Synoptiker*, Preface, p. xxi) as "the last act of a definite system", which is no other than *Hegel's system*.

The dispute between *Strauss* and *Bauer* over *Substance* and *Self-Consciousness* is a dispute *within Hegelian speculation*. In *Hegel* there are *three elements*, *Spinoza's Substance*, *Fichte's Self-Consciousness* and *Hegel's necessarily antagonistic unity* of the two, the *Absolute Spirit*. The first element is metaphysically disguised *nature separated* from man; the second is metaphysically disguised *spirit separated* from nature; the third is the metaphysically disguised *unity* of both, *real man* and the *real human species*.

Within the domain of theology, *Strauss* expounds *Hegel* from *Spinoza's point of view*, and *Bauer* does so from *Fichte's point of view*, both quite consistently. They both *criticised Hegel* insofar as with him each of the two elements was *falsified* by the other, whereas they carried each of these elements to its *one-sided* and hence consistent development.—Both of them therefore go *beyond Hegel* in their criticism, but both also remain *within* his speculation and each represents only *one side* of his system. *Feuerbach*, who completed and criticised *Hegel* from *Hegel's point of view* by resolving the metaphysical *Absolute Spirit* into "*real man on the basis of nature*", was the first to complete the *criticism of religion* by sketching in a grand and masterly manner the *basic features* of the *criticism of Hegel's speculation* and hence of *all metaphysics*.

With Herr Bauer it is, admittedly, no longer the *Holy Ghost*, but nevertheless *infinite self-consciousness* that dictates the writings of the evangelist.

"We ought not any longer to conceal the fact that the correct conception of the gospel history also has its *philosophical basis*, namely, the *philosophy of self-consciousness*" (*Bruno Bauer, Kritik der Synoptiker*, Preface, p. xv).

This philosophy of Herr Bauer, the *philosophy of self-consciousness*, like the *results* he achieved by his criticism of theology, must be characterised by a few extracts from *Das entdeckte Christenthum*, his *last work* on the philosophy of religion.

Speaking of the *French materialists*, he says:

"When the *truth* of materialism, the *philosophy of self-consciousness*, is revealed and *self-consciousness* is recognised as the *Universe*, as the solution of the riddle of *Spinoza's substance* and as the true *causa sui*^a ..., what is the purpose of the *Spirit*?

^a Cause of itself.—Ed.

What is the purpose of self-consciousness? As if self-consciousness, by positing the world, did not posit distinction, and did not produce itself in all it produces, since it does away again with the distinction of what it produced from itself, and since, consequently it is itself only in production and in movement—as if self-consciousness in this movement, which is itself, had not its purpose and did not possess itself!” (*Das entdeckte Christenthum*, p. 113.)

“The French materialists did, indeed, conceive the movement of self-consciousness as the movement of the universal being, matter, but they could not yet see that the movement of the universe became real for itself and achieved unity with itself only as the movement of self-consciousness” (l. c., pp. [114-] 115).

Help, Hinrichs!

In plain language the first extract means: the truth of materialism is the opposite of materialism, absolute, i.e., exclusive, unmitigated idealism. Self-consciousness, the Spirit, is the Universe. Outside of it there is nothing. “Self-consciousness”, “the Spirit”, is the almighty creator of the world, of heaven and earth. The world is a manifestation of the life of self-consciousness which has to alienate itself and take on the form of a slave, but the difference between the world and self-consciousness is only an apparent difference. Self-consciousness distinguishes nothing real from itself. The world is, rather, only a metaphysical distinction, a phantom of its ethereal brain and an imaginary product of the latter. Hence self-consciousness does away again with the appearance, which it conceded for a moment, that something exists outside of it, and it recognises in what it has “produced” no real object, i.e., no object which in reality is distinct from it. By this movement, however, self-consciousness first produces itself as absolute, for the absolute idealist, in order to be an absolute idealist, must necessarily constantly go through the sophisticated process of first transforming the world outside himself into an appearance, a mere fancy of his brain, and afterwards declaring this fantasy to be what it really is, i.e., a mere fantasy, so as finally to be able to proclaim his sole, exclusive existence, which is no longer disturbed even by the semblance of an external world.

In plain language the second extract means: The French materialists did, of course, conceive the movements of matter as movements involving spirit, but they were not yet able to see that they are not material, but ideal movements, movements of self-consciousness, consequently pure movements of thought. They were not yet able to see that the real movement of the universe became true and real only as the ideal movement of self-consciousness free and freed from matter, that is, from reality; in other words, that a material movement distinct from ideal brain movement exists only in appearance. Help, Hinrichs!

This speculative *theory of creation* is almost word for word in Hegel; it can be found in his *first work*, his *Phänomenologie*.

"The alienation of *self-consciousness* itself establishes *thinghood*.... In this alienation *self-consciousness* establishes itself as *object*, or sets up the object as *itself*. On the other hand, there is also this other moment in the process that it has just as much *abolished* this *alienation* and *objectification* and resumed them into itself.... This is the *movement of consciousness*" (Hegel, *Phänomenologie*, pp. 574-75).

"Self-consciousness has a *content*, which it distinguishes *from itself*.... This content in its *distinction* is itself the *ego*, for it is the *movement* of superseding itself.... More precisely stated, this content is nothing but the *very movement just spoken of*; for the content is the *Spirit* which traverses the whole range of its own being, and does this for *itself as Spirit*" (loc. cit., pp. [582-] 583).^a

Referring to this theory of creation of Hegel's, Feuerbach observes:

"Matter is the self-alienation of the spirit. Thereby matter itself acquires spirit and reason—but at the same time it is assumed as a *nothingness*, an *unreal* being, inasmuch as being producing itself from this alienation, i.e., being divesting itself of matter, of sensuousness, is pronounced to be being in its perfection, in its true shape and form. Therefore the natural, the material, the sensuous, is what is to be *negated* here too, as *nature poisoned by original sin* is in theology" (*Philosophie der Zukunft*, p. 35).^b

Herr Bauer therefore defends materialism against *un-Critical theology*, at the same time as he reproaches it with "not yet" being *Critical theology, theology of reason, Hegelian speculation. Hinrichs! Hinrichs!*

Herr Bauer, who in *all domains* carries through *his* opposition to *Substance, his philosophy of self-consciousness* or of *the Spirit*, must therefore in *all domains* have only the *figments* of his own *brain* to deal with. In his hands, *Criticism* is the instrument to sublimate into mere *appearance* and *pure thought* all that affirms a *finite* material existence *outside infinite self-consciousness*. What he combats in *Substance* is not the *metaphysical illusion* but its *mundane* kernel—*nature*; nature both as it exists *outside* man and as man's nature. Not to presume *Substance* in any domain—he still uses this language—means therefore for him not to recognise any *being* distinct from thought, any *natural energy* distinct from the *spontaneity of the spirit*, any *power of human nature* distinct from *reason*, any *passivity* distinct from *activity*, any *influence of others* distinct from *one's own action*, any *feeling* or *willing* distinct from *knowing*, any *heart* distinct from the *head*, any *object* distinct from the *subject*, any *practice* distinct from *theory*, any *man* distinct from the *Critic*, any

^a See the English edition of Hegel's *Works*, pp. 789, 790.— *Ed.*

^b Ludwigh Feuerbach, *Grundsätze der Philosophie der Zukunft*.— *Ed.*

real community distinct from *abstract generality*, any *Thou* distinct from *I*. Herr Bauer is therefore consistent when he goes on to identify *himself* with *infinite self-consciousness*, with the *Spirit*, i.e., to replace these creations of his by their creator. He is just as consistent in rejecting as *stubborn mass* and *matter the rest of the world* which obstinately insists on being something *distinct* from what *he*, Herr Bauer, has produced. And so he hopes:

It will not be long
Before all bodies perish.^a

His *own* ill-humour at so far being unable to master "the *something* of this *clumsy world*" he interprets equally consistently as the *self-discontent* of this world, and the indignation of his Criticism at the development of mankind as the *mass-type* indignation of mankind against *his* Criticism, against *the Spirit*, against Herr Bruno Bauer and Co.

Herr Bauer was a *theologian* from the very beginning, but no ordinary one; he was a *Critical theologian* or a *theological Critic*. While still the extreme representative of *old Hegelian* orthodoxy who put in a speculative form all *religious* and *theological nonsense*, he constantly proclaimed *Criticism* his *private domain*. At that time he called *Strauss'* criticism *human criticism* and *expressly* asserted the right of *divine criticism* in opposition to it. He later stripped the great *self-reliance* or *self-consciousness*, which was the hidden kernel of this divinity, of its religious shell, made it self-existing as an independent being, and raised it, under the trade-mark "*Infinite Self-consciousness*", to the rank of the principle of Criticism. Then he accomplished in his *own* movement the movement that the "philosophy of self-consciousness" describes as the absolute act of life. He abolished anew the "distinction" between "the product", *infinite self-consciousness*, and the producer, *himself*, and acknowledged that infinite self-consciousness in its movement "*was only he himself*", and that therefore the movement of the universe only becomes *true* and *real* in his ideal self-movement.

Divine criticism in its *return into itself* is restored in a rational, conscious, *Critical* way; *being in-itself* is transformed into *being in-and-for-itself* and only at the *end* does the fulfilled, realised, revealed *beginning* take place. *Divine criticism*, as *distinct* from *human criticism*, reveals itself as *Criticism*, *pure Criticism*, *Critical Criticism*. The apologia for the Old and the New Testament is replaced by the apologia for the old and new works of Herr

^a J. W. Goethe, *Faust*, Part I, Scene 3 ("Faust's Study").—Ed.

Bauer. The *theological* antithesis of God and man, spirit and flesh, infinity and finiteness is transformed into the *Critical-theological* antithesis of the *Spirit, Criticism*, or Herr Bauer, and the *matter* of the *mass*, or the secular world. The theological antithesis of faith and reason has been resolved into the Critical-theological antithesis of *common sense* and pure Critical thought. The *Zeitschrift für spekulative Theologie* has been transformed into the *Critical Literatur-Zeitung*. The *religious redeemer of the world* has finally become a reality in the *Critical redeemer of the world*, Herr Bauer.

Herr Bauer's last stage is not an anomaly in his development; it is the *return* of his development *into* itself from its *alienation*. Naturally, the point at which *divine Criticism alienated* itself and came out of itself coincided with the point at which it became partly untrue to itself and created something *human*.

Returning to its starting-point, *Absolute Criticism* has ended the *speculative cycle* and thereby its own *life's career*. Its further movement is *pure*, lofty *circling within itself*, above all interest of a *mass nature* and therefore devoid of any further interest for the Mass.

Chapter VII

CRITICAL CRITICISM'S CORRESPONDENCE

1) THE CRITICAL MASS

Où peut-on être mieux
Qu'au sein de sa famille?^a

In its *Absolute* existence as Herr *Bruno*, Critical Criticism has declared the *mass* of mankind, the whole of mankind that is not Critical Criticism, to be its *opposite*, its *essential object*; *essential*, because the Mass exists *ad majorem gloriam dei*,^b the glory of *Criticism*, of *the Spirit*; *its object*, because it is only the *matter* on which Critical Criticism operates. Critical Criticism has proclaimed its relationship to the Mass as the *world-historic relationship* of the present time.

No *world-historic opposition* is formed, however, by the statement that one is in opposition to the whole world. One can imagine that one is a stumbling-block for the world because one is clumsy enough to stumble everywhere. But for a world-historic opposition it is not enough for me to declare the world *my* opposite; the *world* for its part must declare me to be its essential opposite, and must treat and *recognise* me as such. Critical Criticism ensures itself this recognition by its *correspondence*, which is called upon to *bear witness* before the world to Criticism's function of redeemer and equally to the general *irritation* of the world at the Critical gospel. Critical Criticism is its own object as the *object of the world*. The correspondence is intended to *show it as such*, as the *world interest* of the present time.

Critical Criticism is in its own eyes the *Absolute Subject*. The Absolute Subject requires a cult. A *real* cult requires other believing individuals. The *Holy Family of Charlottenburg* therefore receives from its correspondents the cult due to it. The correspondents tell it *what it is* and what its adversary, the Mass, *is not*.

^a Where can one feel better than in the bosom of one's family? (From J. F. Marmontel's one-act comedy *Lucile*, Scene 4.)—*Ed.*

^b For the greater glory of God.—*Ed.*

However, Criticism falls into an inconsistency by thus having its opinion of itself represented as the opinion of the world and by its *concept* being converted into *reality*. *Within Criticism itself* a sort of *Mass* is forming, a Critical Mass whose simple function is untiringly to echo the stock phrases of Criticism. For consistency's sake this inconsistency may be forgiven. Not feeling at home in the sinful world, Critical Criticism must set up a sinful world in its own home.

The path of Critical Criticism's correspondent, a member of the Critical Mass, is not a rosy one. It is a difficult, thorny path, a Critical path. Critical Criticism is a spiritualistic lord, pure spontaneity, *actus purus*, intolerant of any influence *from without*. The correspondent can therefore be a *subject* only in *appearance*, can only *seem* to behave *independently* towards Critical Criticism, can only *seemingly* want to communicate something new and of his own to it. In *reality* he is Critical Criticism's own *product*, its perception of its own voice made for an instant *objective* and self-existing.

That is why the correspondents do not fail to assert incessantly that Critical Criticism itself *knows, realises, understands, grasps*; and *experiences* what at the same moment is being communicated to it for *appearance's* sake.⁶¹ Thus *Zerrleder*, for instance, uses the expressions: "Do you grasp it? You know. You know for the second and third time. You have probably heard enough to be able to see for yourself."

So too the Breslau correspondent *Fleischhammer* says: "But the fact," etc., "will be as little of a puzzle to you as to me." Or the Zurich correspondent *Hirzel*: "You will probably find out for yourself." The Critical correspondent has such anxious respect for the absolute understanding of *Critical Criticism* that he attributes understanding to it even where there is absolutely nothing to understand. For example, *Fleischhammer* says:

"You will *perfectly* [!] *understand* [!] me when I tell you that one can hardly go out without meeting young Catholic priests in their long black cowls and cloaks."

Indeed, in their *fear* the correspondents *hear* Critical Criticism *saying, answering, exclaiming, deriding!*

Zerrleder, for example, says: "But—you say. Well, then, listen." And *Fleischhammer*: "Yes, I hear what you say—I *only* mean that...." And *Hirzel*: "Good for you, you *will exclaim!*" And a Tübingen correspondent: "*Do not laugh at me!*"

The correspondents, therefore, also express themselves as though they were communicating *facts* to Critical Criticism and

expect from it the *spiritual interpretation*; they provide it with *premises* and leave the *conclusion* to it, or they even *apologise* for repeating things Criticism has known for a long time.

Zerrleder, for example, says:

"Your correspondent can only give a picture, a description of the facts. The *Spirit* which animates these things is *certainly* not unknown to you." Or again: "Now you will *surely* draw the *conclusion for yourself*."

And Hirzel says:

"I shall *not presume* to entertain you with the speculative proposition that every creation arises out of its extreme opposite."

Sometimes, too, the *experiences* of the correspondents are merely the *fulfilment* and *confirmation* of Criticism's *prophecies*.

Fleischhammer, for example, says:

"Your *prediction* has come true."

And Zerrleder:

"Far from being disastrous, the tendencies that I have described to you as gaining ever greater scope in Switzerland, are very *fortunate*; they *only confirm* the *thought you* have already often expressed," etc.

Critical Criticism sometimes feels urged to express the condescension involved by its participation in the correspondence and motivates this condescension by the fact that the correspondent has successfully carried out some *task*. Thus Herr Bruno writes to the Tübingen correspondent:

"It is really inconsistent on my part to answer your letter.—On the other hand, you have again ... made such an *apt remark* that I ... *cannot refuse* the explanation you request."⁶²

Critical Criticism has letters written to it *from the provinces*; not the provinces in the political sense, which, as we know, do not exist anywhere in Germany, but from the *Critical provinces* of which Berlin is the capital, *Berlin*, the seat of the Critical patriarchs and of the Holy Critical Family, whereas the provinces are where the Critical Mass resides. The *Critical provincials* dare not engage the attention of the *supreme Critical authority* without bows and apologies.

Thus, someone writes anonymously to Herr *Edgar*, who, being a member of the Holy Family, is also an eminent personage:

"Honourable Sir, I hope you will *excuse* these lines on the grounds that young people like to unite in common strivings (there is not more than two years' *difference* in our ages)."

The coeval of Herr Edgar describes *himself* incidentally as *the essence of modern philosophy*. Is it not in the nature of things that *Criticism* should correspond with *the essence* of philosophy? If Herr

Edgar's coeval affirms that he has already lost his *teeth*, that is only an allusion to his *allegorical* essence. This "essence of modern philosophy" has "learned from *Feuerbach* to set the factor of education in objective view". It at once gives a sample of its *education* and *views* by assuring Herr Edgar that it has acquired a "complete view of his short story", "Es leben feste Grundsätze!"⁴ At the same time it openly admits that Herr Edgar's point of view is by no means quite clear to it, and finally invalidates the assurance concerning the complete view by the question: "Or have I *completely misunderstood* you?" After this sample it will be found quite normal that the essence of modern philosophy, referring to the Mass, should say:

"We must at least once *condescend* to examine and untie the magic knot which bars *common human reason* from access to the *unrestricted flood of thought*."

In order to get a complete view of the Critical Mass one should read the *correspondence* of Herr *Hirzel* from Zurich (Heft V). This unfortunate man memorises the stock phrases of Criticism with really touching docility and praiseworthy power of recall, not omitting Herr Bruno's favourite phrases about the battles he has waged and the campaigns he has planned and led. But Herr *Hirzel* exercises his profession as a member of the Critical Mass especially by raging against the *profane Mass* and its attitude to *Critical Criticism*.

He speaks of the Mass claiming a part in history, "of the pure Mass", of "pure Criticism", of the "purity of this contradiction"—"a contradiction purer than any that history has provided"—of the "*discontented being*", of the "perfect emptiness, ill humour, dejection, heartlessness, timidity, fury and bitterness of the Mass towards Criticism"; of "the Mass which only exists in order by its resistance to make Criticism sharper and more vigilant". He speaks of "creation from the extreme opposite", of how Criticism is above *hate* and similar profane sentiments. The whole of Herr *Hirzel's* contribution to the *Literatur-Zeitung* is confined to this profusion of Critical stock phrases. While reproaching the *Mass* for being satisfied with mere "disposition", "good will", "the phrase", "faith", etc., he himself, as a member of the *Critical Mass*, is content with phrases, expressions of his "Critical disposition", his "Critical faith", his "Critical good will" and leaves "action, work, struggle" and "works" to Herr Bruno and Co.

Despite the terrible picture of the world-historic tension between

⁴ "Long live firm principles!" A. Weill und E. Bauer, *Berliner Novellen*.—Ed.

the profane world and "Critical Criticism" which the members of the "Critical Mass" outline, for the non-believer at least not even the fact of the matter is stated, the factual existence of this *world-historic* tension. The obliging and un-Critical repetition of Criticism's "imagination" and "pretensions" by the correspondents only proves that the fixed ideas of the master are the fixed ideas of the servant as well. It is true that one of the Critical correspondents^a makes an attempt at a proof based on *fact*.

"You see," he writes to the Holy Family, "that the *Literatur-Zeitung* is fulfilling its purpose, i.e., that it meets with *no approval*. It could meet with approval only if it sounded in unison with the general thoughtlessness, if you strode proudly before it with the jingling of hackneyed phrases of a whole janissary band of current categories."

The jingling of hackneyed phrases of a whole janissary band of current categories! It is evident that the Critical correspondent does his best to keep pace with non-"current" hackneyed phrases. But his explanation of the fact that the *Literatur-Zeitung* meets with no approval must be rejected as purely *apologetic*. This fact could be better explained in just the opposite way by saying that Critical Criticism is in *unison* with the great *mass*, to be precise, the great mass of scribblers who meet with *no approval*.

It is therefore not enough for the *Critical* correspondent to address Critical hackneyed phrases to the Holy Family as "prayers" and at the same time to the Mass as "anathemas". *Un-Critical*, *mass-type* correspondents, *real* delegates of the *Mass* to Critical Criticism, are needed to show the *real* tension between the *Mass* and Criticism.

That is why Critical Criticism also assigns a place to the *un-Critical Mass*. It makes unbiased *representatives* of the latter *correspond* with it, acknowledge the opposition to itself, Criticism, as important and absolute, and utter a *fearful cry* for redemption from this opposition.

2) THE "UN-CRITICAL MASS" AND "CRITICAL CRITICISM"

a) The "Obdurate Mass" and the "Unsatisfied Mass"

The hardness of heart, the obduracy and blind unbelief of "the Mass" has one rather determined representative. This representa-

^a The reference is to the author of an anonymous report published in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, Heft VI, May 1844, in the section "Correspondenz aus der Provinz".—*Ed.*

tive speaks of the exclusively "Hegelian philosophical education of the Berlin Couleur".⁶³

"The only true progress that we can make," he says, "lies in the acknowledgment of reality. But we learn from you that our knowledge was not knowledge of reality but of something unreal."

He calls "natural science" the basis of philosophy.

"A good naturalist stands in the same relation to the philosopher as the philosopher to the theologian."

Further he comments as follows on the "Berlin Couleur".

"I do not think it would be exaggerating to try to explain the state of these people by saying that, although they have gone through a process of spiritual moulting, they have not yet altogether got rid of their old skin in order to be able to absorb the elements of renovation and rejuvenation." "We must yet assimilate this" (natural-scientific and industrial) "knowledge". "The knowledge of the world and of man, which we need most of all, cannot be acquired only by acuity of thought; all the senses must collaborate and all the aptitudes of man must be applied as indispensable instruments; otherwise contemplation and knowledge will always remain defective—and will lead to *moral death*."

This correspondent, however, sweetens the pill that he hands out to Critical Criticism. He "makes *Bauer's words* find their correct application", he has "followed *Bauer's thoughts*", he agrees that "*Bauer has spoken the truth*" and in the end he seems to polemise, not against *Criticism* itself, but against a "Berlin Couleur" which is distinct from it.

Critical Criticism, feeling itself hit and, moreover, being as sensitive as an old maid in all *matters of faith*, is not taken in by these distinctions and this semi-homage.

"You are *mistaken*," it answers, "if you have taken the party you described at the beginning of your letter for *your opponent*. Rather *admit*" (and now comes the crushing sentence of excommunication) "that *you are an opponent of Criticism itself!*"

The miserable wretch! The man of the Mass! An opponent of *Criticism itself!* But as far as the content of that *mass-type* polemic is concerned, Critical Criticism declares its *respect* for its critical attitude to *natural science* and *industry*.

"*All respect for natural science! All respect for James Watt and*" (a really noble turn!) "no respect at all for the millions that he made for his relatives."

All respect for the respect of Critical Criticism! In the same letter in which Critical Criticism reproaches the above-mentioned *Berlin Couleur* with too easily disposing of thorough and solid works without studying them and having *finished* with a work when they have merely remarked that it is epoch-making, etc.—in that same letter *Criticism itself disposes* of the whole of natural

science and *industry* by merely declaring its respect for them. The clause which it appends to its declaration of respect for *natural science* reminds one of the first fulminations of the deceased knight *Krug* against natural philosophy.

"Nature is not the only reality *because we eat and drink it in its individual products.*"

Critical Criticism knows this much about the *individual products* of nature that "*we eat and drink them*". All respect for the natural science of Critical Criticism!

Criticism is consistent in countering the embarrassingly importunate demand to study "nature" and "industry" with the following indisputably witty rhetorical exclamation:

"Or" (!) "do you think that the knowledge of *historical reality* is *already complete*? Or" (!) "do you know of any single period in history which is *already actually known*?"

Or does Critical Criticism believe that it has reached even the *beginning* of a knowledge of historical reality so long as it excludes *from* the historical movement the theoretical and practical relation of man to nature, i.e., natural science and industry? Or does it think that it actually knows any period without knowing, for example, the industry of that period, the immediate mode of production of life itself? Of course, spiritualistic, *theological* Critical Criticism only knows (at least it imagines it knows) the main political, literary and theological acts of history. Just as it separates thinking from the senses, the soul from the body and itself from the world, it separates history from natural science and industry and sees the origin of history not in vulgar *material* production on the earth but in vaporous clouds in the heavens.

The representative of the "obdurate" and "hard-hearted" Mass with his trenchant reproofs and counsels is disposed of as a *mass-type materialist*. Another correspondent, not so malicious or mass-like, who places his hopes in Critical Criticism but finds them unsatisfied, fares no better. The representative of the "*unsatisfied*" Mass writes:

"I must, however, admit that the first number of your paper was *by no means satisfying*. We expected something else."

The *Critical patriarch* answers in person:

"I knew beforehand that it would not satisfy expectations, because I could rather easily imagine those expectations. One is so exhausted that one wishes to have *everything at once*. Everything? No! If possible everything and nothing at the same time. An everything that costs no trouble, an everything that one can absorb without going through any development, an everything that is contained in a single word."

In his vexation at the undue demands of the "Mass", which demands *something*, indeed *everything*, from Criticism, which by principle and disposition "*gives nothing*", the Critical patriarch relates an *anecdote* in the way that old men do. Not long ago a Berlin *acquaintance* complained bitterly of the verbosity and profusion of detail of his works—Herr Bruno is known to make a bulky work out of the tiniest semblance of a thought. He was consoled with the promise of being sent the ink necessary for the printing of the book in a small pellet so that he could easily absorb it. The patriarch explains the length of his "works" by the bad spreading of the ink, as he explains the nothingness of his *Literatur-Zeitung* by the emptiness of the "profane Mass", which, in order to be full, wants to swallow everything and nothing at the same time.

Just as it is difficult to deny the importance of what has so far been related, it is equally difficult to see a *world-historic contradiction* in the fact that a mass-type acquaintance of Critical Criticism considers Criticism empty, while Criticism, for its part, declares him to be un-Critical; that a second acquaintance does not find that the *Literatur-Zeitung* satisfies his expectations, and that a *third* acquaintance and friend of the family finds Criticism's works too bulky. However, acquaintance No. 2, who entertains expectations, and friend of the family No. 3, who wishes at least to find out the secrets of Critical Criticism, constitute the transition to a *more substantial* and tenser relationship between Criticism and the "un-Critical Mass". Cruel as *Criticism* is to the "hard-hearted" Mass which has only "common human reason", we shall find it condescending to the Mass that is pining for *redemption* from contradiction. The Mass which approaches Criticism with a contrite heart, a spirit of repentance and a humble mind will be rewarded for its honest striving with many a *wise, prophetic and outspoken* word.

b) The "Soft-Hearted" Mass "Pining for Redemption"

The representative of the *sentimental, soft-hearted Mass pining for redemption* cringes and implores Critical Criticism for a kind word with effusions of the heart, deep bows and rolling of the eyes, as follows:

"Why am I writing this to you? Why am I justifying myself before you? Because I *respect* you and therefore *desire* your *respect*; because I owe you deepest *thanks* for my development and therefore *love* you. *My heart* impels me to *justify myself* before you ... who have upbraided me.... *Far be it* from me to *obtrude* upon you; judging by

myself, I thought you *might be pleased* to have proof of *sympathy* from a man who is still little known to you. I *make no claim whatsoever* that you should answer my letter: I wish *neither* to take up your time, of which you can make better use, *nor* to be irksome to you, *nor* to expose myself to the mortification of seeing something that I hoped for remain *unfulfilled*. You *may* interpret my letter as *sentimentality, importunity or vanity*" (!) "or whatever you like; you may answer me or not, I cannot resist the *impulse* to send it and I only hope that you will realise the *friendly feeling* which inspired it" (!!).

Just as from the beginning God has had mercy on the *poor in spirit*, this mass-like but humble correspondent, too, who whimpers for mercy from Critical Criticism, has his wish *fulfilled*. Critical Criticism gives him a kind answer. More than that! It gives him *most profound* explanations on the objects of his curiosity.

"Two years ago," Critical Criticism teaches, "it was opportune to remember the Enlightenment of the French in the eighteenth century in order to be able to make use of those *light troops*, too, at a place in the battle that was then being waged. The situation is now *quite different*. Truths now change very quickly. What was then *opportune* is now an *oversight*."

Of course it was only "an *oversight*" then too, but an "*opportune*" one, when the Absolute Critical All-high itself (cf. *Anekdoten*, Book II, p. 89)^a called those *light troops* "our *saints*", our "*prophets*", "*patriarchs*", etc. Who would call *light troops* a *troop* of "*patriarchs*"? It was an "opportune" oversight when it spoke with enthusiasm of the self-denial, moral energy and inspiration with which these *light troops* "thought, worked—and studied—throughout their lives for the truth". It was an "oversight" when, in the preface to *Das entdeckte Christenthum*, it was stated that these "*light*" troops "seemed invincible and *any one well-informed* would have wagered that they would *put the world out of joint*" and that "it seemed beyond doubt that they would succeed in giving *the world a new shape*". *Those light troops?*

Critical Criticism continues to teach the inquisitive representative of the "*cordial Mass*":

"Although it was a *new* historical merit of the French to attempt to set up a social theory, they are *none the less now exhausted*; their new theory was not yet *pure*, their social fantasies and their *peaceful democracy* are by no means free from the assumptions of the old state of things."

Criticism is talking here about *Fourierism*—if it is talking about anything—and in particular of the Fourierism of *La Démocratie pacifique*. But this is far from being the "social theory" of the French. The French have *social theories*, but not a social theory; the

^a B. Bauer, "Leiden und Freuden des theologischen Bewusstseins". *Anekdoten zur neuesten deutschen Philosophie und Publicistik*, Bd. 2.—Ed.

diluted Fourierism that *La Démocratie pacifique* preaches is nothing but the social doctrine of a section of the philanthropic bourgeoisie. The people is *communistic*, and, as a matter of fact, split into a multitude of different groups; the true movement and the elaboration of these different social shades is not only not *exhausted*, it is really only *beginning*. But it will not end in pure, i.e., abstract, *theory* as Critical Criticism would like it to; it will end in a quite *practical practice* that will not bother at all about the categorical categories of Criticism.

"No nation," Criticism chatters on, "has *so far* any advantage over another. If one can succeed in winning some spiritual superiority over the others, it will be the one which is in a position to criticise itself and the others and to discover the causes of the universal decay."

Every nation has so far some advantage over another. But if the Critical prophecy is right, no nation will have any advantage over another, because all the civilised peoples of Europe—the English, the Germans, the French—now "criticise themselves and others" and "are in a position to discover the causes of the universal decay". Finally, it is high-sounding tautology to say that "criticising", "discovering", i.e., spiritual activities, give a spiritual superiority, and Criticism, which in its infinite self-consciousness places itself above the nations and expects them to kneel at its feet and implore it for enlightenment, only shows by this caricatured Christian-Germanic idealism that it is still up to its neck in the mire of German nationalism.

The criticism of the French and the English is not an abstract, preternatural personality outside mankind; it is the *real human activity* of individuals who are active members of society and who suffer, feel, think and act as human beings. That is why their criticism is at the same time practical, their communism a socialism in which they give practical, concrete measures, and in which they not only think but even more act, it is the living, real criticism of existing society, the recognition of the causes of "the decay".

After Critical Criticism's explanations for the inquisitive member of the Mass, it is entitled to say of its *Literatur-Zeitung*:

"Here Criticism that is *pure*, graphic, relevant and adds nothing is practised."

Here "*nothing self-existing is given*"; here *nothing* at all is *given* except *criticism that gives nothing*, that is, criticism which culminates in extreme non-criticism. *Criticism* has underlined passages printed and reaches its full bloom in *excerpts*. *Wolfgang Menzel* and *Bruno Bauer* stretch a brotherly hand to each other and Critical Criticism stands where the *philosophy of identity* stood at the beginning of this

century, when *Schelling* protested against the mass-like supposition that he wanted to give something, anything except *pure, entirely philosophical* philosophy.⁶⁴

c) Grace Bestowed on the Mass

The soft-hearted correspondent whose instruction we have just witnessed stood in a *comfortable* relationship to Criticism. In his case there was only an idyllic hint of the tension between the *Mass* and *Criticism*. Both sides of the *world-historic* contradiction behaved *kindly* and *politely*, and therefore *exoterically*, to each other.

Critical Criticism, in its *unhealthy*, soul-shattering effect on the Mass, is seen first in regard to a correspondent who has one foot already in Criticism and the other still in the profane world. He represents the "Mass" in its *inner* struggle with Criticism.

At times it seems to him "that Herr Bruno and his friends do not understand *mankind*", that "they are the ones who are really blinded". Then he immediately corrects himself:

"Yes, it is *as clear as daylight* to me that you are right and that your thoughts are correct; but *excuse* me, the people is *not* wrong *either*.... Oh yes! The people is right.... I cannot deny that you are right.... I really do not know what it will all lead to: you will say ... well, stay at home.... *Alas*, I can no longer stand it.... *Alas!* One might otherwise go *mad* in the end.... *Kindly* accept... Believe me, the knowledge one has acquired sometimes makes one feel as *stupid* as if a mill-wheel were turning in one's head."

Another correspondent, too, writes that he "is *occasionally disconcerted*". One can see that *Critical grace* is about *to be bestowed* on this mass-type correspondent. The poor wretch! The sinful Mass is tugging at him on one side and Critical Criticism on the other. It is not the knowledge he has acquired that reduces this pupil of Critical Criticism to a state of stupor; it is the question of *faith* and *conscience*; Critical Christ or the people, God or the world, Bruno Bauer and his friends or the profane Mass! But just as bestowal of *divine* grace is preceded by extreme wretchedness of the sinner, *Critical grace* is preceded by a crushing *stupefaction*. And when it is at last bestowed, the chosen one loses not stupidity but the *consciousness of stupidity*.

3) THE UN-CRITICALLY CRITICAL MASS OR "CRITICISM" AND THE "BERLIN COULEUR"

Critical Criticism has not succeeded in depicting itself as the *essential opposite*, and hence at the same time as the *essential object*, of the mass of humanity. Apart from the representatives of the

obdurate Mass which reproaches Critical Criticism for its *objectlessness* and gives it to understand in the most courteous possible way that it has not yet gone through the *process* of its spiritual “*moult*” and must first of all acquire solid knowledge, there is the *soft-hearted* correspondent. He is no *opposite* at all, but then the actual reason for his approach to Critical Criticism is a *purely personal* one. As we can see a little further on in his letter, he really only wants to reconcile his devotion to Herr Arnold Ruge with his devotion to Herr *Bruno Bauer*. This attempt at reconciliation does credit to his kind heart, but it in no way constitutes an *interest of a mass nature*. Finally, the last correspondent to appear was no longer a *real* member of the Mass, he was only a catechumen of Critical Criticism.

In general, the *Mass* is an *indefinite* object, and therefore can neither carry out a definite action nor enter into a definite relationship. *The Mass*, as the object of Critical Criticism, has nothing in common with the *real* masses who, for their part, form among themselves oppositions of a pronounced mass nature. *Critical Criticism’s* mass is “made” by Criticism itself, as would be the case if a naturalist, instead of speaking of definite classes, contrasted *the Class* to himself.

Hence, in order to have an opposite of a really mass nature, *Critical Criticism* needs, besides this *abstract* Mass which is the figment of its own brain, a *definite Mass* that can be empirically demonstrated and not just conjured up. This Mass must see in Critical Criticism both its *essence* and *the annihilation of its essence*. It must *wish* to be Critical Criticism, non-Mass, without *being able to*. This Critically un-Critical Mass is the above-mentioned “*Berlin Couleur*”. The *mass* of humanity which is seriously concerned with Critical Criticism is confined to a Berlin Couleur.

The “*Berlin Couleur*”, the “*essential object*” of Critical Criticism, of which it is always thinking and which, Critical Criticism imagines, is always thinking of Critical Criticism, consists, as far as we know, of a few *ci-devant*^a *Young Hegelians* in whom Critical Criticism claims to inspire partly a *horror vacui*^b and partly a feeling of *futility*. We are not investigating the actual state of affairs, we rely on what *Criticism* says.

The *Correspondence* is mainly intended to expound *at length* to the public this *world-historic* relation of *Criticism* to the “*Berlin Couleur*”, to reveal its profound significance, to show why Criti-

^a Former.—*Ed.*

^b Horror of emptiness.—*Ed.*

cism must necessarily be cruel towards this "Mass", and finally to make it appear that *the whole world* is in fearful agitation over this opposition, expressing itself now in favour of, and then against the actions of *Criticism*. For example, *Absolute Criticism* writes to a correspondent who sides with the "Berlin Couleur":

"I have *already* heard things like that *so often* that I have made up my mind not to take any more notice of them."

The world has no idea how often it has dealt with Critical things *like that*.

Let us now hear what a member of the *Critical Mass* reports on the Berlin Couleur:

"If anyone recognises the Bauers"^a (the Holy Family must always be recognised *pêle-mêle*) "began his answer^a—'I am the one. But the *Literatur-Zeitung!* Let us be quite fair!' It was interesting for me to hear what one of those radicals, those clever men of *anno 42*, thought of you...."

The correspondent goes on to report that the unfortunate man had all sorts of reproaches to make to the *Literatur-Zeitung*.

Herr Edgar's short story, *Die drei Biedermänner*,^b he found lacking in polish and exaggerated. He could not understand that *censorship* is not so much a fight of man against man, an external fight, as an internal one. They do not take the trouble to bethink themselves and to replace the *phrase the censor objects to* by a *cleverly expressed and thoroughly developed Critical thought*. He found Herr Edgar's essay on Béraud^c lacking in thoroughness. The Critical reporter thinks it was thorough. True he admitted himself: "I have *not* read Béraud's book." But he *believes* that Herr Edgar has *succeeded*, etc., and belief, we know, is bliss. "In general," the Critical believer continues, "he" (the one from the Berlin Couleur) "is *not at all satisfied* with Herr Edgar's works." He also finds that "*Proudhon is not dealt with thoroughly enough*".^d And here the reporter gives Herr Edgar a testimonial:

"*It is true*" (!?) "*that I am acquainted with Proudhon. I know that Edgar's presentation took the characteristic points from him and set them out clearly.*"

The only reason why Herr Edgar's *excellent* criticism of Proudhon is not liked, the reporter says, can only be that Herr Edgar does *not fulminate* against property. And just imagine it, the opponent

^a The reference is to the answer given by an adherent to the Berlin Couleur to one of the authors of the anonymous report "Aus der Provinz" published in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, Heft VI, May 1844.—*Ed.*

^b Published in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, Heft III-V.—*Ed.*

^c See p. 20 of this volume.—*Ed.*

^d See pp. 23-54 of this volume.—*Ed.*

finds Herr Edgar's essay on the "*Union ouvrière*"^a *unimportant*. To console Herr Edgar the reporter says:

"Of course, it does not give anything *independent*, and these people have really gone back to *Gruppe's* point of view, which, to be sure, they have *always maintained*. *Criticism* must give, give and *give!*"

As though Criticism had not given quite new linguistic, historical, philosophical, economic, and juridical discoveries! And it is so modest as to let itself be told that it has not given anything *independent!* Even our Critical correspondent gave mechanics something that it had not hitherto known when he made people *go back to the same* point of view which they had always *maintained*. It is clumsy to recall *Gruppe's* point of view. In his pamphlet, which is otherwise miserable and not worth mentioning, Gruppe asked Herr Bruno what criticism he could give on *speculative logic*.⁶⁵ Herr Bruno referred him to future generations and—

"a fool is waiting for an answer".^b

As God punished the unbelieving Pharaoh by hardening his heart and did *not think* him *worthy* of being enlightened, so the reporter assures us:

"They are therefore *not at all worthy* of seeing or knowing the contents of your *Literatur-Zeitung*."

And instead of advising his friend Edgar to acquire thoughts and knowledge he gives him the following advice:

"Let Edgar get a *bag of phrases* and draw blindly out of it when he writes essays in future, in order to acquire a style in harmony with the public."

Besides assurances of "a certain fury, ill-favour, emptiness, thoughtlessness, an inkling of something which they are not able to fathom, and a feeling of nullity" (all these epithets apply, of course, to the Berlin Couleur), eulogies like the following are made of the Holy Family:

"Lightness of treatment penetrating the matter, command of the categories, insight acquired by study, in a word, *command of the Objects*. He" (of the Berlin Couleur) "takes an easy attitude to the thing, you make the thing easy." Or: "Your criticism in the *Literatur-Zeitung* is pure, graphic and relevant."

Finally it is stated:

"I have written it all to you at such length because I know that I shall give you *pleasure* by reporting the opinions of my friend. From this you can see that the *Literatur-Zeitung* is fulfilling its purpose."

Its purpose is opposition to the Berlin Couleur. Having just

^a See pp. 19-20 of this volume.—*Ed.*

^b H. Heine, *Die Nordsee* (second cycle "Fragen").—*Ed.*

witnessed the *Berlin Couleur's* polemic against Critical Criticism and the reproof it received for that polemic, we are now given a double picture of its efforts to obtain mercy from Critical Criticism.

One correspondent writes:

"My acquaintances in Berlin told me when I was there at the beginning of the year that you repel all and keep all at a distance; that you keep yourself to yourself and let nobody approach you, assiduously avoiding all intercourse. I, of course, cannot tell which side is to blame."

Absolute Criticism replies:

"Criticism does *not* form any *party* and will have no party of its own; it is *solitary* because it is engrossed in *its*" (!) "object and opposes itself to it. It *isolates itself from everything*."

Critical Criticism thinks it rises above all dogmatic antitheses by substituting for the real antitheses the imaginary antithesis between *itself and the world*, between the *Holy Ghost* and the *profane Mass*. In the same way it thinks it rises *above parties* by falling *below the party point of view*, by counterposing itself as a *party* to the rest of mankind and concentrating all interest in the personality of Herr Bruno and Co. The truth of Criticism's *admission* that it sits enthroned in the solitude of *abstraction*, that even when it seems to be occupied with some *object* it does not come out of its objectless solitude into a truly *social* relation to a *real object*, because *its object* is only the object of *its imagination*, only an imaginary object—the truth of this Critical *admission* is proved by the whole of our exposition. Equally correctly Criticism defines its *abstraction* as *absolute* abstraction, in the sense that "it *isolates itself from everything*", and precisely this isolation of *nothing from everything*, from *all* thought, contemplation, etc., is *absolute nonsense*. Incidentally, the solitude which it achieves by isolating and abstracting itself from *everything* is no more free from the object from which it abstracts itself than *Origen* was from the *genital organ* that he *isolated* from himself.

Another correspondent begins by describing *one* of the members of the "Berlin Couleur", whom he saw and spoke with, as "gloomy", "depressed", "no longer able to open his mouth" (although he was formerly always "ready with a quite *impudent* word"), and "despondent". This member of the "Berlin Couleur" related the following to the correspondent, who in turn reported it to Criticism:

"He cannot grasp how people like you two, who formerly respected the principle of humanity, can behave in such an aloof, repelling, indeed arrogant

manner." He does not know "why there are some people who, it seems, intentionally cause a split. Have we not all the same point of view? Do we not all *pay homage* to the extreme, to Criticism? Are we not all capable, if not of producing, at least of grasping and applying an extreme thought?" He "finds that this split is motivated by no other principle than egoism and arrogance".

Then the correspondent puts in a good word:

"Have not at least some of our friends grasped *Criticism*, or perhaps *the good will of Criticism* ... '*ut desint vires, tamen est laudanda voluntas*.'"^a

Criticism replies with the following *antitheses* between itself and the Berlin Couleur:

"There are *various* standpoints on criticism." The members of the Berlin Couleur "thought they had criticism in their pocket", but Criticism "really knows and applies the force of criticism", i.e., does not keep it in its pocket. For the former, criticism is pure form, whereas for Criticism, on the other hand, it is the "*most substantial* or rather the only *substantial thing*". Just as Absolute Thought considers itself the whole of reality, *so* does Critical Criticism. That is why it sees no content *outside itself* and is therefore not the criticism of *real* objects existing outside the Critical subject; on the contrary, it *makes* the object, it is the Absolute *Subject-Object*. Further! "The former kind of criticism disposes of everything, of the investigation of things, by means of phrases. The latter isolates itself *from everything* by means of phrases." The former is "*clever in ignorance*", the latter is "learning". The latter, at any rate, is not clever, it learns *par ça, par là*,^b but only in appearance, only in order to be able to fling what it has superficially learnt from the Mass back at the Mass in the form of a "catchword", as wisdom that it itself has discovered, and to resolve it into the nonsense of Critical Criticism.

"For the former, words such as 'extreme', 'proceed', 'not go far enough' are of importance and highly revered categories; the latter *investigates the standpoints* and does not apply to them the *measures* of those abstract categories."

The exclamations of Criticism No. 2 that it is no longer a question of politics, that philosophy is done away with, and its dismissal of social systems and developments by means of words like "fantastic", "utopian", etc.—what is all that if not a *Critically revised* version of "proceeding" and "not going far enough"? And are not its "measures", such as "*History*", "*Criticism*", "summing up of objects", "the old and the new", "Criticism and Mass", "investigation of standpoints"—in a word, are not all its catch-

^a "The strength may be lacking, but the will is praiseworthy."—*Ed.*

^b Here and there.—*Ed.*

words *categorical measures* and abstractly categorical ones at that!?

“The former is theological, spiteful, envious, petty, presumptuous, the latter is the *opposite* of all that.”

After thus praising itself a dozen times in one breath and ascribing to itself all that the Berlin Couleur lacks, just as God is all that *man is not*, *Criticism* bears witness to itself that:

“It has achieved a clarity, a thirst for learning, a tranquillity in which it is *unassailable* and *invincible*.”

Hence it can “at the most treat” its opponent, the Berlin Couleur, “with *Olympic laughter*”. This *laughter*—it explains with its customary thoroughness what it is and what it is not—“this laughter is not arrogance”. By no means! It is the negation of the negation. It is “*only the process that the Critic must apply* in all ease and equanimity against a *subordinate standpoint* which *thinks* itself *equal* to him” (what conceit!). When the Critic laughs, therefore, he is *applying a process*! And “in all equanimity” he applies the *process of laughter* not against *persons*, but against a *standpoint*! Even *laughter* is a *category* which he applies and even *must apply*!

Extramundane Criticism is not an *essential activity* of the *human subject* who is *real* and therefore lives and suffers in *present-day society*, sharing in its pains and pleasures. The *real individual* is only an *accidental feature*, an earthly vessel of *Critical Criticism*, which reveals itself in it as *eternal Substance*. The subject is not the human individual's criticism, but the *non-human individual of Criticism*. Criticism is not a *manifestation of man*, but man is an *alienation of Criticism*, and that is why the Critic lives completely outside society.

“Can the Critic live in the society which he criticises?”

It should be asked instead: Must he not live in that society? Must he not himself be a manifestation of the life of that society? Why does the Critic *sell* the products of his mind, for thereby he makes the worst law of present-day society his own law?

“The Critic must not even dare to mix *personally* with society.”

That is why he creates for himself a *Holy Family*, just as the solitary God endeavours in the Holy Family to end his tedious isolation from society. If the Critic *wants to free himself from bad society* he must first of all free himself from *his own society*.

“Thus the Critic dispenses with *all the pleasures of society*, but its *sufferings*, too, stay remote from him. He knows neither *friendship*” (except that of Critical friends)

“nor love” (except *self-love*) “but on the other hand calumny is powerless against him; nothing can offend him; no hatred, no envy can affect him; vexation and grief are *feelings unknown* to him.”

In short, the Critic is free from all *human passions*, he is a *divine person*; he can apply to himself the song of the nun.

I think not of a lover,
I think not of a spouse.
I think of God the Father
For he my life endows.^a

Criticism cannot write a single passage without contradicting itself. Thus it tells us finally:

“The Philistinism that stones the Critic” (he has to be stoned by analogy with the Bible), “that misjudges him and ascribes *impure* motives to him” (ascribes *impure* motives to *pure* Criticism!) “in order to make *him equal to itself*” (the conceit of equality reproved above!), “is *not laughed at* by him, because it is not worth it, but is seen through and calmly relegated to its own insignificant significance.”

Earlier the Critic *had to* apply the *process of laughter* to the “subordinate standpoint that thought itself equal to him”. Critical Criticism’s unclarity about its mode of procedure with the godless “Mass” seems almost to indicate an interior irritation, a sort of bile to which “feelings” are not “unknown”.

However, there should be no misunderstanding. Having waged a Herculean struggle *to free* itself from the un-Critical “profane Mass” and “everything”, Critical Criticism has at last succeeded in achieving its *solitary, god-like, self-sufficient, absolute* existence. If in its first pronouncement in this, its “new phase”, the old world of *sinful feelings* seems still to have some power over it, we shall now see Criticism find aesthetic relaxation and *transfiguration* in an “*artistic form*” and complete its *penance* so it can finally as a second triumphant *Christ* accomplish the *Critical last judgment* and after its victory over the dragon ascend calmly to heaven.

^a From the German folk-song *Die Nonne* published in the book by F. K. Freiherr von Erlach, *Die Volkslieder der Deutschen*, Bd. IV.—*Ed.*

Chapter VIII

THE EARTHLY COURSE AND TRANSFIGURATION OF "CRITICAL CRITICISM", OR "CRITICAL CRITICISM" AS RUDOLPH, PRINCE OF GEROLDSTEIN^a

Rudolph, Prince of Geroldstein, does penance in his earthly course for a double crime: his personal crime and that of *Critical Criticism*. In a furious dialogue he drew his sword against his father; *Critical Criticism*, also in a furious dialogue, let itself be carried away by sinful feelings against the Mass. *Critical Criticism* did not reveal a single mystery. *Rudolph* does penance for that and reveals all mysteries.

Rudolph, Herr Szeliga informs us, is the first servant of the state of humanity (the *Humanitätsstaat* of the Swabian *Egidius*. See *Konstitutionelle Jahrbücher* by Dr. Karl Weil, 1844, Bd. 2⁶⁶).

For the world not to be destroyed, Herr Szeliga asserts, it is necessary that

"men of ruthless criticism appear.... *Rudolph* is such a man.... *Rudolph* grasps the thought of pure criticism. And that thought is more fruitful for him and mankind than all the experiences of the latter in its history, than all the knowledge that *Rudolph*, guided even by the most reliable teacher, was able to derive from that history.... The impartial judgment by which *Rudolph* perpetuates his earthly course is, in fact, nothing but

the revelation of the mysteries of society."

He is: "*the revealed mystery of all mysteries.*"

Rudolph has far more external means at his disposal than the other men of *Critical Criticism*. But the latter consoles itself:

"Unattainable for those less favoured by destiny are *Rudolph's results*" (!), "not unattainable is the splendid goal (!)."

^a In this chapter Marx continues his criticism of Szeliga's article "Eugène Sue: Die Geheimnisse von Paris" (see pp. 55-77 of this volume).—Ed.

That is why Criticism leaves the *realisation* of its own *thoughts* to Rudolph, who is so favoured by destiny. It sings to him:

Hahnemann, go on ahead.
You've waders on, you won't get wet!^a

Let us accompany Rudolph in his Critical earthly course, which "is *more fruitful for mankind than all the experiences* of the latter in its history, than *all the knowledge*" etc., and which *twice* saves the world from *destruction*.

1) CRITICAL TRANSFORMATION OF A BUTCHER INTO A DOG,
OR CHOURINEUR^b

Chourineur was a butcher by trade. Owing to a concourse of circumstances, this mighty son of nature becomes a murderer. Rudolph comes across him accidentally just when he is molesting Fleur de Marie. Rudolph gives the dexterous brawler a few impressive, masterly punches on the head, and thus wins his respect. Later, in the tavern frequented by criminals, Chourineur's kind-hearted disposition is revealed. "You still have heart and honour," Rudolph says to him. By these words he instils in Chourineur respect for himself. Chourineur is reformed or, as Herr Szeliga says, is transformed into a "*moral being*". Rudolph takes him under his protection. Let us follow the course of Chourineur's education under the guidance of Rudolph.

1st Stage. The first lesson Chourineur receives is a lesson in hypocrisy, faithlessness, craft and *dissimulation*. Rudolph uses the reformed Chourineur in exactly the same way as *Vidocq* used the criminals he had reformed, i.e., he makes him a *mouchard*^c and *agent provocateur*. He advises him to "*pretend*" to the "*maître d'école*"^d that he has altered his "principle of not stealing" and to suggest a robbery so as to lure him into a trap set by Rudolph. Chourineur feels that he is being made a fool of. He protests against the suggestion of playing the role of *mouchard* and *agent provocateur*. Rudolph easily convinces the son of nature by the "*pure*" *casuistry* of Critical Criticism that a foul trick is not foul when it is done for "*good, moral*" reasons. Chourineur, as an *agent provocateur* and under the pretence of friendship and confidence, lures his former companion to destruction. For the *first time* in his life he commits an act of *infamy*.

^a From the German folk-tale *Sieben Schwaben* published in *Volksbücher*, hrsg. v. G. O. Marbach.—*Ed.*

^b *Chourineur* is French thieves' slang for a murderous ruffian.—*Ed.*

^c *Police spy*.—*Ed.*

^d The "*maître d'école*", a nickname given by his fellow criminals.—*Ed.*

2nd Stage. We next find Chourineur acting as *garde-malade*^a to Rudolph, whom he has saved from mortal danger.

Chourineur has become such a *respectable moral* being that he rejects the Negro doctor David's suggestion to sit on the floor, for fear of dirtying the carpet. He is indeed too *shy* to sit on a chair. He first lays the chair on its back and then sits on the front legs. He never fails to apologise when he addresses Rudolph, whom he saved from a mortal danger, as "friend" or "*Monsieur*" instead of "*Monseigneur*".

What a wonderful training of the ruthless son of nature! Chourineur expresses the innermost secret of his Critical transformation when he admits to Rudolph that he has the same attachment for him as a *bulldog* for its master: "Je me sens pour vous, comme qui dirait *l'attachement* d'un *bouledogue* pour son *maître*." The former butcher is transformed into a dog. Henceforth all his virtues will be reduced to the virtue of a dog, pure "*dévouement*" to its master. His independence, his individuality will disappear completely. But just as bad painters have to label their pictures to say what they are supposed to represent, Eugène Sue has to put a label on "*bulldog*" Chourineur, who constantly affirms: "The two words, 'You still have heart and honour', made a *man* out of me." Until his very last breath, Chourineur will find the motive for his actions, not in his human individuality, but in that label. As proof of his moral reformation he will often reflect on his own excellence and the wickedness of other individuals. And every time he throws out moral sentences, Rudolph will say to him: "I like to hear you *speak* like that." Chourineur has not become an ordinary *bulldog* but a *moral one*.

3rd Stage. We have already admired the *petty-bourgeois respectability* which has taken the place of Chourineur's *coarse but daring* unceremoniousness. We now learn that, as befits a "*moral being*", he has also adopted the gait and demeanour of the *petty bourgeois*.

"A le voir marcher—on l'eût pris pour le *bourgeois* le plus inoffensif du monde."^b

Still sadder than this form is the content that Rudolph gives his Critically reformed life. He sends him to Africa "to serve as a living and salutary example of repentance to the world of unbelievers". In future, he will have to represent, not his own human nature, but a Christian dogma.

^a Sick attendant.—*Ed.*

^b "To see him walk you would have taken him for the most harmless *bourgeois* in the world."—*Ed.*

4th Stage. The Critically moral transformation has made Chourineur a quiet, cautious man who behaves according to the rules of fear and worldly wisdom.

"Le Chourineur", reports Murph, who in his indiscreet simplicity continually tells tales out of school "n'a pas dit un mot de l'exécution du maître d'école, de peur de se trouver compromis."^a

So Chourineur knows that the punishment of the *maître d'école* was an illegal act. But he does not talk about it for fear of compromising himself. *Wise* Chourineur!

5th Stage. Chourineur has carried his moral education to such perfection that he gives his *dog-like* attitude to Rudolph a civilised form—he becomes conscious of it. After saving *Germain* from a mortal danger he says to him:

"I have a protector who is to me what *God* is to *priests*—he is such as to make one kneel before him."

And in imagination he kneels before his God.

"Monsieur Rudolph," he says to *Germain*, "protects you. I say '*Monsieur*' though I should say '*Monseigneur*'. But I am used to calling him '*Monsieur Rudolph*', and he allows me to."

"Magnificent awakening and flowering!" exclaims *Szeliga* in Critical delight.

6th Stage. Chourineur worthily ends his career of pure *dévouement*, or moral bulldogishness, by finally letting himself be stabbed to death for his gracious lord. At the moment when *Squelette* threatens the prince with his knife, Chourineur stays the murderer's arm. *Squelette* stabs him. But, dying, Chourineur says to *Rudolph*:

"I was right when I said that a *lump of earth*" (a bulldog) "like me can sometimes be useful to a *great and gracious master* like you."

To this dog-like utterance, which sums up the whole of Chourineur's Critical life like an epigram, the label put in his mouth adds:

"We are quits, Monsieur Rudolph. You told me that I had heart and honour."

Herr *Szeliga* cries as loud as he can:

"What a merit it was for Rudolph to have restored the *Schurimann*^b" (?) "to *mankind* (!)"

^a "Chourineur said nothing of the punishment meted out to the *maître d'école* for fear of compromising himself."—*Ed.*

^b *Schurimann* is a Germanised form of Chourineur.—*Ed.*

2) REVELATION OF THE MYSTERY OF CRITICAL RELIGION,
OR FLEUR DE MARIE

a) The Speculative "Marguerite"^a

A word more about Herr Szeliga's speculative "Marguerite" before we go on to Eugène Sue's Fleur de Marie.

The speculative "Marguerite" is above all a *correction*. The fact is that the reader could conclude from Herr Szeliga's construction that Eugène Sue had

"separated the presentation of the objective basis" (of the "world system") "from the development of the acting individual forces which can be understood only against that background".

Besides the task of correcting this erroneous conjecture that the reader may have made from Herr Szeliga's presentation, Marguerite has also a metaphysical mission in our, or rather Herr Szeliga's, "epic".

"The *world system* and an epic event *would still not be* artistically united in a really *single whole* if they were only interspersed in a motley mixture — now here a bit of world system and then there some stage play. If *real unity* is to result, both things, the mysteries of this prejudiced *world* and the clarity, frankness and confidence with which *Rudolph* penetrates and reveals them, must clash in a *single individual*... This is the task of Marguerite."

Herr Szeliga speculatively constructs Marguerite by analogy with *Bauer's* construction of the *Mother of God*.

On one side is the "*divine element*" (*Rudolph*) to which "all power and freedom" are attributed, the only *active* principle. On the other side is the passive "*world system*" and the human beings belonging to it. The world system is the "ground of reality". If this ground is not to be "entirely abandoned" or "the last remnant of the natural condition is not to be abolished"; if the world itself is to have some share in the "principle of development" that *Rudolph*, in contrast to the world, concentrates in himself; if "the human element is not to be represented simply as unfree and inactive", Herr Szeliga is bound to fall into the "contradiction of religious consciousness". Although he tears apart the world system and its activity as the dualism of a dead Mass and Criticism (*Rudolph*), he is nevertheless obliged to concede some attributes of divinity to the world system and the mass and to give in Marguerite a speculative construction of the unity of the two, *Rudolph* and the world (see *Kritik der Synoptiker*, Band I, p. 39).

^a "Fleur de Marie" is translated by the authors into German as "Marien-Blume" which means Marguerite.—*Ed.*

Besides the real relations of the *house-owner*, the acting “individual force”, to his *house* (the “objective basis”), mystical speculation, and speculative aesthetics too, need a third *concrete, speculative unity*, a *Subject-Object* which is the house and the house-owner in *one*. As speculation does not like natural mediations in their extensive circumstantiality, it does not realise that the same “bit of world system”, the house, for example, which for one, the house-owner, for example, is an “objective basis”, is for the other, the builder of the house, an “epic event”. In order to get a “really single whole” and “real unity”; Critical Criticism, which reproaches “romantic art” with the “dogma of unity”, replaces the natural and human connection between the world system and world events by a fantastic connection, a mystical Subject-Object, just as *Hegel* replaces the real connection between man and nature by an absolute Subject-Object which is at one and the same time the whole of nature and the whole of humanity, the *Absolute Spirit*.

In the Critical Marguerite “the universal guilt of the time, the guilt of mystery”, becomes the “*mystery of guilt*”, just as the universal debt^a of mystery becomes the *mystery of debts* in the indebted *Epicier*.^b

According to the Mother-of-God construction, Marguerite should really have been the *mother of Rudolph*, the redeemer of the world. Herr Szeliga expressly says:

“According to the *logical sequence*, Rudolph should have been the *son* of Marguerite.”

Since, however, he is not her son, but her father, Herr Szeliga finds in this “the new mystery that the present often bears in its womb the long departed past instead of the future”. He even reveals another mystery, a still greater one, a mystery which directly contradicts mass-type statistics, the mystery that

“a child, if it does not, in its turn, become a father or mother, but goes to its grave pure and innocent, is ... *essentially ... a daughter*”.

Herr Szeliga faithfully follows Hegel’s speculation when, according to the “*logical sequence*”, he regards the daughter as the mother of her father. In Hegel’s philosophy of history, as in his philosophy of nature, the son engenders the mother, the spirit nature, the Christian religion paganism, the result the beginning.

After proving that according to the “*logical sequence*” Marguerite ought to have been Rudolph’s mother, Herr Szeliga proves the opposite:

^a Here the authors have a pun on the word “*Schuld*” which means “guilt” and “debt”.—*Ed.*

^b Grocer.—*Ed.*

"in order to conform fully to the *idea* she embodies in *our* epic, she *must never become a mother*".

This shows at least that the idea of our epic and Herr Szeliga's logical sequence are mutually contradictory.

The speculative Marguerite is nothing but the "*embodiment of an idea*". But what idea?

"She has the task of representing, *as it were*, the last tear of grief that the past sheds prior to its final passing away."

She is the representation of an allegorical tear, and even this little that she is, is only "*as it were*".

We shall not follow Herr Szeliga in his further description of Marguerite. We shall leave her the satisfaction, according to Herr Szeliga's prescription, of "constituting *the most decisive* antithesis to *everyone*", a mysterious antithesis, as mysterious as the attributes of God.

Neither shall we delve into the "*true mystery*" that is "deposited by *God* in the breast of man" and at which the speculative Marguerite "*as it were*" hints. We shall pass from Herr Szeliga's Marguerite to Eugène Sue's Fleur de Marie and to the Critical miraculous cures Rudolph accomplishes on her.

b) Fleur de Marie

We meet Marie surrounded by criminals, as a prostitute in bondage to the proprietress of the criminals' tavern. In this debasement she preserves a human nobleness of soul, a human unaffectedness and a human beauty that impress those around her, raise her to the level of a poetical flower of the criminal world and win for her the name of Fleur de Marie.

We must observe Fleur de Marie attentively from her first appearance in order to be able to compare her *original form* with her *Critical transformation*.

In spite of her frailty, Fleur de Marie at once gives proof of vitality, energy, cheerfulness, resilience of character—qualities which alone explain her human development in her *inhuman* situation.

When Chourineur ill-treats her, she defends herself with her scissors. That is the situation in which we first find her. She does not appear as a defenceless lamb who surrenders without any resistance to overwhelming brutality; she is a girl who can vindicate her rights and put up a fight.

In the criminals' tavern in the Rue aux Fèves she tells Chourineur and Rudolph the story of her life. As she does so she

laughs at Chourineur's wit. She blames herself because on being released from prison she spent the 300 francs she had earned there on amusements instead of looking for work. "But," she said, "I had no one to advise me." The memory of the catastrophe of her life—her selling herself to the proprietress of the criminals' tavern—puts her in a melancholy mood. It is the first time since her childhood that she has recalled these events.

"Le fait est, que ça me chagrine de regarder ainsi derrière moi ... ça doit être bien bon d'être honnête."^a

When Chourineur makes fun of her and tells her she must become honest, she exclaims:

"Honnête, mon dieu! et avec quoi donc veux-tu que je sois honnête?"^b

She insists that she is not one "to have fits of tears": "*Je ne suis pas pleurnicheuse*"^c; but her position in life is sad—"Ça n'est pas gai."^d Finally, contrary to Christian *repentance*, she pronounces on the past the human sentence, at once *Stoic* and *Epicurean*, of a free and strong nature:

"Enfin ce qui est fait, est fait."^e

Let us accompany Fleur de Marie on her first outing with Rudolph.

"The consciousness of your terrible situation has probably often distressed you," Rudolph says, itching to moralise.

"Yes," she replies, "more than once I looked over the embankment of the Seine; but then I would gaze at the flowers and the sun and say to myself: the river will always be there and I am not yet seventeen years old. Who can say? Dans ces moments-là il me semblait que mon sort n'était pas mérité, qu'il y avait en moi quelque chose de bon. Je me disais, on m'a bien tourmenté, mais au moins je n'ai jamais fait de mal à personne."^f

Fleur de Marie considers her situation not as one she has freely created, not as the expression of her own personality, but as a fate she has not deserved. Her bad fortune can change. She is still young.

Good and *evil*, as Marie conceives them, are not the *moral abstractions* of good and evil. She is *good* because she has never caused *suffering* to anyone, she has always been *human* towards her

^a "The fact is that it grieves me when I look back in this way ... it must be lovely to be honest."—*Ed.*

^b "Honest! My God! What do you want me to be honest with?"—*Ed.*

^c "I am no crybaby."—*Ed.*

^d "It isn't a happy one."—*Ed.*

^e "Well, what is done is done."—*Ed.*

^f "On such occasions it seemed to me that I had not deserved my fate, that I had something good in me. People have tormented me enough, I used to say to myself, but at least I have never done any harm to anyone."—*Ed.*

inhuman surroundings. She is *good* because the sun and the flowers reveal to her her own sunny and blossoming nature. She is *good* because she is still *young*, full of hope and vitality. Her situation is *not good*, because it puts an unnatural constraint on her, because it is not the expression of her human impulses, not the fulfilment of her human desires; because it is full of torment and without joy. She measures her situation in life by her *own individuality*, her *essential nature*, not by the *ideal of what is good*.

In *natural* surroundings, where the chains of bourgeois life fall away and she can freely manifest her own nature, Fleur de Marie bubbles over with love of life, with a wealth of feeling, with human joy at the beauty of nature; these show that her social position has only grazed the surface of her and is a mere misfortune, that she herself is neither good nor bad, but *human*.

"Monsieur Rodolphe, quel bonheur ... de l'herbe, des champs! Si vous vouliez me permettre de descendre, il fait si beau ... j'aimerais tant à courir dans ces prairies!"^a

Alighting from the carriage, she plucks flowers for Rudolph, "can hardly speak for joy", etc., etc.

Rudolph tells her that he is going to take her to *Madame George's farm*. There she can see dove-cotes, cow-stalls and so forth; there they have milk, butter, fruit, etc. Those are real *blessings* for this child. She will be *merry*, that is her main thought. "*C'est à n'y pas croire ... comme je veux m'amuser!*"^b She explains to Rudolph in the most unaffected way her own *share* of responsibility for her misfortune. "*Tout mon sort est venu de ce que je n'ai pas économisé mon argent!*"^c She therefore advises him to be thrifty and to put money in the savings-bank. Her fancy runs wild in the castles in the air that Rudolph builds for her. She becomes sad only because she

"has forgotten the *present*" and "the contrast of that present with the dream of a joyous and laughing existence reminds her of the cruelty of her situation".

So far we have seen Fleur de Marie in her original un-Critical form. Eugène Sue has risen above the horizon of his narrow world outlook. He has slapped bourgeois prejudice in the face. He will hand over Fleur de Marie to the hero Rudolph to atone for his temerity and to reap applause from all old men and women, from the whole of the Paris police, from the current religion and from "Critical Criticism".

^a "Monsieur Rudolph, what happiness! ... grass, fields! If you would allow me to get out, the weather is so fine ... I should love so much to run about in these meadows."—*Ed.*

^b "You can't believe how I am longing for some fun!"—*Ed.*

^c "My whole fate is due to the fact that I did not save up my money."—*Ed.*

Madame George, to whom Rudolph entrusts Fleur de Marie, is an unhappy, hypochondriacal religious woman. She immediately welcomes the child with the unctuous words: "God blesses those who love and fear him, who have been unhappy and who *repent*." Rudolph, the man of "pure Criticism", has the wretched priest *Laporte*, whose hair has greyed in superstition, called in. He has the mission of accomplishing Fleur de Marie's Critical reform.

Joyfully and unaffectedly Marie approaches the old priest. In his Christian brutality, *Eugène Sue* makes a "marvellous instinct" at once whisper in her ear that "*shame ends where repentance and penance begin*", that is, in the church, which alone saves. He forgets the unconstrained merriness of the outing, a merriness which nature's grace and Rudolph's friendly sympathy had produced, and which was troubled only by the thought of having to go back to the criminals' landlady.

The priest *Laporte* immediately adopts a *supermundane* attitude. His first words are:

"God's mercy is infinite, my dear child! He has proved it to you by not abandoning you in your severe trials.... The magnanimous man who saved you fulfilled the *word of the Scriptures*" (note—the word of the Scriptures, not a human purpose!): "Verily the Lord is nigh to those who invoke him; he will fulfil their desires ... he will hear their voice and will save them ... the Lord will accomplish *his* work."

Marie cannot yet understand the *evil* meaning of the priest's exhortations. She answers:

"I shall pray for those who pitied me and brought me back to God."

Her first thought is *not* for God, it is for her *human* saviour and she wants to pray for *him*, not for her *own* absolution. She attributes to her prayer some influence on the salvation of others. Indeed, she is still so naive that she supposes she has *already been brought back* to God. The priest feels it is his duty to destroy this unorthodox illusion.

"Soon," he says, interrupting her, "soon you will deserve absolution, absolution from your great errors ... for, to quote the prophet once more, the Lord holdeth up those who are on the brink of falling."

One should not fail to see the inhuman expressions the priest uses. Soon you will deserve absolution. Your sins are *not yet forgiven*.

As *Laporte*, when he receives the girl, bestows on her the *consciousness of her sins*, so Rudolph, when he leaves her, presents her with a gold *cross*, the symbol of the *Christian crucifixion* awaiting her.

Marie has already been living for some time on Madame

George's farm. Let us first listen to a dialogue between the old priest Laporte and Madame George.

He considers "marriage" out of the question for Marie "because no man, in spite of the priest's guarantee, will have the courage to face the past that has soiled her youth". He adds: "she has great errors to atone for, her moral sense ought to have kept her upright."

He proves, as the commonest of bourgeois would, that she could have remained good: "There are many virtuous people in Paris today." The hypocritical priest knows quite well that at any hour of the day, in the busiest streets, those virtuous people of Paris pass indifferently by little girls of seven or eight years who sell *allumettes*^a and the like until about midnight as Marie herself used to do and who, almost without exception, will have the same fate as Marie.

The priest has made up his mind concerning Marie's *penance*; in his own mind he has already *condemned* her. Let us follow Marie when she is accompanying Laporte home in the evening.

"See, my child," he begins with unctuous eloquence, "the boundless horizon the limits of which are no longer visible" (for it is evening), "it seems to me that the calm and the vastness almost give us an idea of eternity.... I am telling you this, Marie, because you are sensitive to the beauties of creation.... I have often been moved by the religious admiration which they inspire in you—you who for so long were deprived of religious feeling."

The priest has already succeeded in changing Marie's immediate naive pleasure in the beauties of nature into a *religious* admiration. For her, *nature* has already become devout, *Christianised* nature, debased to *creation*. The transparent sea of space is desecrated and turned into the dark symbol of stagnant *eternity*. She has already learnt that all human manifestations of her being were "*profane*", devoid of religion, of real consecration, that they were impious and godless. The priest must soil her in her own eyes, he must trample underfoot her natural, spiritual resources and means of grace, in order to make her receptive to the supernatural means of grace he promises her, *baptism*.

When Marie wants to make a confession to him and asks him to be lenient he answers:

"The *Lord* has shown you that he is merciful."

In the clemency which she is shown Marie must not see a natural, self-evident attitude of a related human being to her, another human being. She must see in it an extravagant, supernatural,

^a Matches.—Ed.

superhuman mercy and condescension; in *human leniency* she must see *divine mercy*. She must transcendentalise all human and natural relationships by making them *relationships to God*. The way Fleur de Marie in her answer accepts the priest's chatter about divine mercy shows how far she has already been spoilt by religious doctrine.

As soon as she entered upon her improved situation, she said, she had felt only her *new happiness*.

"Every instant I thought of Monsieur Rudolph. I often raised my eyes to heaven, to look there, not for God, but for Monsieur Rudolph, and to thank him. Yes, *I confess*, Father, *I thought more* of him than of God; for *he* did for me what God alone could have done.... I was *happy*, as happy as someone who has escaped a great danger for ever."

Fleur de Marie already finds it wrong that she took a new happy situation in life simply for what it *really* was, that she felt it as a new happiness, that her attitude to it was a natural, not a supernatural one. She accuses herself of seeing in the man who rescued her what he *really* was, her rescuer, instead of supposing some imaginary saviour, *God*, in his place. She is already caught in religious hypocrisy, which takes away from *another man* what he has deserved in respect of me in order to give it to God, and which in general regards everything human in man as alien to him and everything inhuman in him as *really* belonging to him.

Marie tells us that the *religious transformation* of her thoughts, her sentiments, her attitude to life was effected by Madame George and Laporte.

"When Rudolph took me away from the *Cité*, I already had a vague consciousness of my degradation. But the education, the advice and examples I got from you and Madame George made me understand ... that I had been more guilty than unfortunate.... You and Madame George made me *realise the infinite depth of my damnation*."

That is to say she owes to the priest Laporte and Madame George the replacement of the human and therefore bearable consciousness of her degradation by the Christian and hence unbearable consciousness of eternal damnation. The priest and the bigot have taught her to judge herself from the *Christian point of view*.

Marie feels the depth of the spiritual misfortune into which she has been cast. She says:

"Since the consciousness of good and evil had to be so frightful for me, why was I not left to my wretched lot?... Had I not been snatched away from infamy, misery and blows would soon have killed me. At least I should have died in ignorance of a purity that I shall always wish for in vain."

The heartless priest replies:

"Even the most noble nature, were it to be plunged only for a day in the filth from which you have been saved, would be *indelibly branded*. That is the *immutability of divine justice!*"

Deeply wounded by this *priestly curse* uttered in such honeyed tones, Fleur de Marie exclaims:

"You see therefore, I must despair!"

The grey-headed slave of religion answers:

"You must renounce hope of effacing this desolate page from your life, but you must trust in the *infinite mercy of God*. Here *below*, my poor child, you will have tears, remorse and penance, but one day *up above*, forgiveness and *eternal bliss!*"

Marie is not yet stupid enough to be satisfied with eternal bliss and forgiveness up above.

"Pity, pity, my God!" she cries. "I am so young.... *Malheur à moi!*"^a

Then the hypocritical sophistry of the priest reaches its peak:

"On the contrary, happiness for you, Marie; happiness for you to whom the Lord sends this bitter but saving remorse! It shows the *religious susceptibility* of your soul.... Each of your sufferings is counted up above. Believe me, God left you awhile on the path of evil only to reserve for you the *glory of repentance* and the eternal reward due to *atonement.*"

From this moment Marie is *enslaved by the consciousness of sin*. In her former most unhappy situation in life she was able to develop a lovable, human individuality; in her outward debasement she was conscious that *her human essence was her true essence*. Now the filth of modern society, which has touched her externally, becomes her innermost being, and continual hypochondriacal self-torture because of that filth becomes her duty, the task of her life appointed by God himself, the self-purpose of her existence. Formerly she said of herself "*Je ne suis pas pleurnicheuse*" and knew that "*ce qui est fait, est fait*". Now self-torment will be her *good* and remorse will be her *glory*.

It turns out later that Fleur de Marie is Rudolph's daughter. We come across her again as Princess of Geroldstein. We overhear a conversation she has with her father:

"En vain je prie Dieu de me délivrer de ces obsessions, de remplir uniquement mon cœur de son pieux amour, de ses saintes espérances, de me prendre enfin toute entière, puisque je veux me donner toute entière à lui ... il n'exauce pas mes vœux—sans doute, parce que mes préoccupations *terrestres* me rendent indigne d'entrer en commun avec lui."^b

^a "Woe unto me!"—*Ed.*

^b "In vain I pray to God to deliver me from these obsessions, to fill my heart solely with his pious love and his holy hopes; in a word, to take me entirely,

When man has realised that his transgressions are *infinite* crimes against God he can be sure of *salvation* and *mercy* only if he gives himself *wholly* to God and becomes *wholly* dead to the world and worldly concerns. When Fleur de Marie realises that her delivery from her inhuman situation in life was a miracle of *God* she *herself* has to become a *saint* in order to be worthy of such a *miracle*. Her human love must be transformed into religious love, the striving for happiness into striving for eternal bliss, worldly satisfaction into holy hope, communion with people into communion with God. God must take her entirely. She herself reveals to us why he does not take her entirely. She has not yet *given* herself entirely to him, her heart is still preoccupied and engaged with earthly affairs. This is the last flickering of her strong nature. She gives herself entirely up to God by becoming wholly dead to the world and entering a *convent*.

A monastery is no place for him
Who has no stock of sins laid in,
So numerous and great
That be it early, be it late
He may not miss the sweet delight
Of penance for a heart contrite.

(Goethe)^a

In the convent Fleur de Marie is promoted to *abbess* through the intrigues of Rudolph. At first she refuses to accept this appointment because she feels unworthy. The old abbess persuades her:

“Je vous dirai plus, ma chère fille, avant d’entrer au bercail, votre existence aurait été aussi égarée, qu’elle a été au contraire pure et louable ... que les *vertus évangéliques*, dont vous avez donné l’exemple depuis votre séjour ici, expieraient et rachèteraient encore aux yeux du Seigneur un passé si coupable qu’il fût.”^b

From what the abbess says, we see that Fleur de Marie’s earthly virtues have changed into evangelical virtues, or rather that her real virtues can no longer appear otherwise than as evangelical caricatures.

Marie answers the abbess:

“Sainte mère — je crois maintenant pouvoir accepter.”^c

because I wish to give myself entirely to him ... he does not grant my wishes, doubtless because my *earthly* preoccupations make me unworthy of communion with him.”—*Ed.*

^a J. W. Goethe, *Zahme Xenien*, IX.—*Ed.*

^b “I shall say more, my dear daughter: if before entering the fold your life had been as full of error as, on the contrary, it was pure and praiseworthy ... the *evangelical virtues* of which you have given an example since you have been here would have atoned for and redeemed your past in the eyes of the Lord, no matter how sinful it was.”—*Ed.*

^c “Holy Mother, I now believe that I can accept.”—*Ed.*

Convent life does not suit Marie's individuality—she dies. Christianity consoles her only in imagination, or rather her Christian consolation is precisely the annihilation of her real life and essence—her death.

So Rudolph first changed Fleur de Marie into a repentant sinner, then the repentant sinner into a nun and finally the nun into a corpse. At her funeral not only the Catholic priest, but also the *Critical* priest Szeliga preaches a sermon over her grave.

Her "innocent" existence he calls her "transient" existence, opposing it to "eternal and unforgettable guilt". He praises the fact that her "last breath" was a "prayer for forgiveness and pardon". But just as the protestant Minister, after expounding the necessity of the Lord's mercy, the participation of the deceased in universal original sin and the intensity of his consciousness of sin, must praise the virtues of the departed in *earthly* terms, so, too, Herr Szeliga uses the expression:

"And yet *personally*, she has nothing to ask forgiveness for."

Finally he throws on Marie's grave the most faded flower of pulpit eloquence:

"Inwardly pure as human beings seldom are, she has closed her eyes to this world."

Amen!

3) REVELATION OF THE MYSTERIES OF LAW

a) The *Maître d'école*, or the New Penal Theory. The Mystery of Solitary Confinement Revealed. Medical Mysteries

The *maître d'école* is a criminal of Herculean strength and great intellectual vigour. He was brought up an educated and well-schooled man. This passionate athlete comes into conflict with the laws and customs of bourgeois society, whose universal yardstick is mediocrity, delicate morals and quiet trade. He becomes a murderer and abandons himself to all the excesses of a violent temperament that can nowhere find a fitting human occupation.

Rudolph captures this criminal. He wants to reform him critically and set him up as an example for the world of *law*. He quarrels with the world of law not over "*punishment*" itself, but over *kinds and methods* of punishment. He invents, as the Negro doctor David aptly expresses it, a penal theory which would be

worthy of the “*greatest German criminal expert*”, and which has since had the good fortune to be defended by a German criminal expert with German earnestness and German thoroughness. Rudolph has not the slightest idea that one can rise *above* criminal experts: his ambition is to be “*the greatest criminal expert*”, *primus inter pares*.^a He has the *maître d'école* blinded by the Negro doctor David.

At first Rudolph repeats all the trivial objections to capital punishment: that it has no effect on the criminal and no effect on the people, for whom it seems to be an entertaining spectacle.

Further Rudolph establishes a difference between the *maître d'école* and the *soul* of the *maître d'école*. It is not the man, not the *real maître d'école* whom he wishes to save; he wants the *spiritual salvation* of his *soul*.

“The salvation of a soul,” he teaches, “is something holy.... Every crime can be *atoned for* and redeemed, the Saviour said, but only if the criminal earnestly desires to repent and *atone*. The transition from the court to the scaffold is too short.... You” (the *maître d'école*) “have criminally misused your *strength*. I shall *paralyse* your strength ... you will tremble before the weakest, your punishment will be equal to your crime ... but this terrible punishment will at least leave you the boundless horizon of *atonement*.... I shall cut you off only from the outer world in order to plunge you into impenetrable night and leave you *alone* with the memory of your ignominious deeds.... You will be forced to look into yourself ... your intelligence, which you have degraded, will be roused and will lead you to atonement.”

Since Rudolph regards the *soul* as *holy* and man's *body* as *profane*, since he thus considers only the *soul* to be the true essence, because—according to Herr Szeliga's Critical description of humanity—it belongs to heaven, the *body* and the *strength* of the *maître d'école* do not belong to humanity, the manifestation of their essence cannot be given human form or claimed for humanity and cannot be treated as essentially human. The *maître d'école* has misused his *strength*; Rudolph paralyzes, lames, destroys that *strength*. There is no more *Critical* means of getting rid of the perverse manifestations of a human essential *strength* than the destruction of this essential *strength*. This is the Christian means—plucking out the eye if it offends or cutting off the hand if it offends, in a word, killing the *body* if the *body* gives offence; for the eye, the hand, the *body* are really only superfluous sinful appendages of man. Human nature must be killed in order to heal its ailments. Mass-type jurisprudence, too, in agreement here with the *Critical*, sees in the *laming* and *paralysing* of human *strength* the antidote to the objectionable manifestations of that *strength*.

^a The first among equals.—*Ed.*

What Rudolph, the man of pure Criticism, objects to in profane criminal justice is the too swift transition from the court to the scaffold. He, on the other hand, wants to link *vengeance* on the criminal with *penance* and *consciousness of sin* in the criminal, corporal punishment with spiritual punishment, sensuous torture with the non-sensuous torture of remorse. Profane punishment must at the same time be a means of Christian moral education.

This penal theory, which links *jurisprudence* with *theology*, this "revealed mystery of the mystery", is no other than the penal theory of the *Catholic Church*, as already expounded at length by *Bentham* in his work *Punishments and Rewards*.^a In that book Bentham also proved the moral futility of the punishments of today. He calls legal penalties "*legal parodies*".

The punishment that Rudolph imposed on the *maître d'école* is the same as that which *Origen* imposed on himself. He *emasculates* him, robs him of a *productive organ*, the eye. "The eye is the light of the body."^b It does great credit to Rudolph's religious instinct that he should hit, of all things, upon the idea of *blinding*. This punishment was current in the thoroughly Christian empire of Byzantium and came to full flower in the vigorous youthful period of the Christian-Germanic states of England and France. Cutting man off from the perceptible outer world, throwing him back into his abstract inner nature in order to correct him—blinding—is a necessary consequence of the Christian doctrine according to which the consummation of this cutting off, the pure isolation of man in his spiritualistic "*ego*", is *good itself*. If Rudolph does not shut the *maître d'école* up in a real monastery, as was the case in Byzantium and in Franconia, he at least shuts him up in an ideal monastery, in the cloister of an impenetrable night which the light of the outer world cannot pierce, the cloister of an idle conscience and consciousness of sin filled with nothing but the phantoms of memory.

A certain speculative bashfulness prevents Herr Szeliga from discussing openly the penal theory of his hero Rudolph that worldly punishment must be linked with Christian repentance and atonement. Instead he imputes to him—naturally as a mystery which is only just being revealed to the world—the theory that punishment must make the criminal the "*judge*" of his "*own*" crime.

^a *Théorie des peines et des récompenses*.—Ed.

^b *New Testament*, Matthew, 6:22.—Ed.

The mystery of this revealed mystery is *Hegel's* penal theory. According to Hegel, the criminal in his punishment passes sentence on himself. *Gans* developed this theory at greater length. In Hegel this is the *speculative disguise* of the old *jus talionis*,^a which *Kant* expounded as the *only juridical* penal theory. For Hegel, self-judgment of the criminal remains a mere "*Idea*", a mere speculative interpretation of the *current empirical punishments for criminals*. He thus leaves the mode of application to the respective stage of development of the state, i.e., he leaves punishment as it is. Precisely in that he shows himself more critical than his Critical echo. A *penal* theory which at the same time sees in the criminal the *man* can do so only in *abstraction*, in imagination, precisely because *punishment, coercion*, is contrary to *human* conduct. Moreover, this would be impossible to carry out. Purely subjective arbitrariness would take the place of the abstract law because it would always depend on the official, "honourable and decent" men to adapt the penalty to the individuality of the criminal. Plato long ago realised that the *law* must be one-sided and *take no account* of the individual. On the other hand, under *human* conditions punishment will *really* be nothing but the sentence passed by the culprit on himself. No one will want to convince him that *violence from without*, done to him by others, is violence which he had done to himself. On the contrary, he will see in *other* men his natural saviours from the punishment which he has imposed on himself; in other words, the relation will be reversed.

Rudolph expresses his innermost thought—the purpose of blinding the *maître d'école*—when he says to him:

"Chacune de tes paroles sera une prière."^b

He wants to teach him to *pray*. He wants to convert the Herculean robber into a *monk* whose only work is prayer. Compared with this Christian cruelty, how humane is the ordinary penal theory that just chops a man's head off when it wants to destroy him. Finally, it goes without saying that whenever real mass-type legislation was seriously concerned with improving the criminal it acted incomparably more sensibly and humanely than the German Harun al-Rashid. The four Dutch agricultural colonies and the Ostwald penal colony in Alsace are truly human attempts in comparison with the blinding of the *maître d'école*. Just as

^a The right of retaliation—an eye for an eye.—*Ed.*

^b "Every word you say will be a prayer."—*Ed.*

Rudolph kills Fleur de Marie by handing her over to the priest and consciousness of sin, just as he kills Chourineur by robbing him of his human independence and degrading him into a bulldog, so he kills the *maître d'école* by having his eyes gouged out in order that he can learn to "pray".

This is, of course, the way in which all reality emerges "simply" out of "pure Criticism", namely, as a distortion and senseless abstraction of reality.

Immediately after the blinding of the *maître d'école* Herr Szeliga causes a moral miracle to take place.

"The terrible *maître d'école*," he reports, "suddenly recognises the power of honesty and decency and says to Schurimann: 'Yes, I can trust you, you have never stolen anything'."

Unfortunately Eugène Sue recorded a statement of the *maître d'école* about Chourineur which contains the same recognition and cannot be the effect of his having been blinded, since it was made earlier. In talking to Rudolph alone, the *maître d'école* said about Chourineur:

"Du reste il n'est pas capable de vendre un ami. Non: il a du bon ... il a toujours eu des idées singulières."^a

This would seem to do away with Herr Szeliga's moral miracle. Now we shall see the real results of Rudolph's Critical cure.

We next meet the *maître d'école* as he is going with a woman called Chouette to Bouqueval farm to play a foul trick on Fleur de Marie. The thought that dominates him is, of course, the thought of revenge on Rudolph. But the only way he knows of wreaking vengeance on him is metaphysically, by thinking and hatching "evil" to spite him.

"Il m'a ôté la vue, il ne m'a pas ôté la pensée du mal."^b

He tells Chouette why he had sent for her:

"I was bored all alone with those honest people."

When Eugène Sue satisfies his monkish, bestial lust in the self-humiliation of man to the extent of making the *maître d'école* implore on his knees the old hag Chouette and the little imp Tortillard not to abandon him, the great moralist forgets that that

^a "Besides, he is not capable of betraying a friend. No, there's something good in him ... he has always had strange ideas."—Ed.

^b "He has taken away my sight but not the thought of evil."—Ed.

is the height of diabolical satisfaction for Chouette. Just as Rudolph, precisely by the *violent act* of *blinding* the criminal, proved to him the power of *physical force*, which he wants to show him is insignificant, so Eugène Sue now teaches the *maître d'école* really to recognise the *full power* of the *senses*. He teaches him to understand that without it man is *unmanned* and becomes a helpless object of mockery for children. He convinces him that the world deserved his crimes, for he had only to lose his sight to be ill-treated by it. He robs him of his last human illusion, for so far the *maître d'école* believed in Chouette's attachment to him. He had said to Rudolph: "She would let herself be thrown into the fire for me." Eugène Sue, on the other hand, has the satisfaction of hearing the *maître d'école* cry out in the depths of despair:

"*Mon dieu! Mon dieu! Mon dieu!*"

He has learnt to "*pray*"! In this "*appel involontaire de la commisération divine*," Eugène Sue sees "*quelque chose de providentiel*".^a

The first result of Rudolph's Criticism is this *spontaneous prayer*. It is followed immediately by an *involuntary atonement* at Bouqueval farm, where the ghosts of those whom the *maître d'école* murdered appear to him in a dream.

We shall not give a detailed description of this dream. We next find the Critically reformed *maître d'école* fettered in the cellar of the "Bras rouge", half devoured by rats, half starving and half insane as a result of being tortured by Chouette and Tortillard, and roaring like a beast. Tortillard had delivered Chouette to him. Let us watch the treatment he inflicts on her. He *copies* the hero Rudolph not only outwardly, by scratching out Chouette's *eyes*, but *morally* too by repeating Rudolph's hypocrisy and embellishing his cruel treatment with pious phrases. As soon as the *maître d'école* has Chouette in his power he gives vent to "*une joie effrayante*"^b and his voice trembles with rage.

"Tu sens bien," he says, "que je ne veux pas en finir tout de suite ... torture pour torture ... il faut que je te parle longuement avant de te tuer ... ça va être affreux pour toi. D'abord, vois-tu ... depuis ce rêve de la ferme de Bouqueval, qui m'a remis sous les yeux tous nos crimes, depuis ce rêve, qui a manqué de me rendre fou ... qui me rendra fou ... il s'est passé en moi un changement étrange ... J'ai eu horreur de ma férocité passée ... d'abord je ne t'ai pas permis de martyriser la goualeuse, cela n'était rien encore ... en m'entraînant ici dans cette cave, en m'y faisant souffrir le froid et la faim ... tu m'as laissé tout à l'épouvante de mes réflexions ... Oh! tu ne sais pas ce que c'est

^a "*Spontaneous appeal for divine mercy ... something providential.*"—*Ed.*

^b "A terrifying joy."—*Ed.*

que d'être seul ... l'isolement m'a purifié. Je ne l'aurais pas cru possible ... une preuve que je suis peut-être moins scélérat qu'autrefois ... ce que j'éprouve une joie infinie à te tenir là ... monstre ... non pour me venger, mais ... mais pour venger nos victimes ... oui, j'aurai accompli un devoir quand de ma propre main j'aurai puni ma complice ... j'ai maintenant horreur de mes meurtres passés, et pourtant ... trouves-tu pas cela bizarre? c'est sans crainte, c'est avec sécurité que je vais commettre sur toi un meurtre affreux avec des raffinements affreux ... dis ... dis ... conçois-tu cela?"^a

In those few words the *maître d'école* goes through a whole gamut of *moral casuistry*.

His first words are a *frank* expression of his desire for vengeance. He wants to give torture for torture. He wants to murder Chouette and he wants to prolong her agony by a long sermon. And—delightful sophistry!—the speech with which he tortures her is a *sermon on morals*. He asserts that his dream at Bouqueval has improved him. At the same time he reveals the real effect of the dream by admitting that it almost drove him mad and that it will actually do so. He gives as a proof of his reform that he prevented Fleur de Marie from being tortured. Eugène Sue's personages—earlier Chourineur and now the *maître d'école*—must express, as the result of *their* thoughts, as the conscious motive of their actions, his own intention as a writer, which causes him to make them behave in a certain way and no other. They must continually say: I have reformed myself in this, in that, etc. Since their life has no real content, their words must give vigorous tones to insignificant features like the protection of Fleur de Marie.

Having reported the *salutary* effect of his Bouqueval dream, the *maître d'école* must explain why Eugène Sue had him locked up in a cellar. He must find the novelist's procedure reasonable. He

^a "You realise that I do not want to get it over at once.... Torture for torture.... I must have a long talk with you before killing you.... It is going to be terrible for you. First of all, you see ... since that dream at Bouqueval farm which brought all our crimes back before me, since that dream which nearly drove me mad ... and which will drive me mad ... a strange change has come over me.... I have become horrified at my past cruelty.... At first I would not let you torture the songstress [Fleur de Marie], but that was nothing.... By bringing me to this cellar and making me suffer cold and hunger.... you left me to the terror of my own thoughts.... Oh, you don't know what it is to be alone.... Isolation purified me. I should not have thought it possible ... a proof that I am perhaps less of a blackguard than before ... what an infinite joy I feel to have you in my power, you monster ... not in order to revenge myself but ... to avenge our victims.... Yes, I shall have done my duty when I have punished my accomplice with my own hand.... I am now horrified at my past murders, and yet ... don't you find it strange? ... it is without fear and quite calmly that I am going to commit a terrible murder on you, with terrible refinements ... tell me, tell me ... do you understand that?"—Ed.

must say to Chouette: by locking me up in a cellar, causing me to be gnawed by rats and to suffer hunger and thirst, you have completed my reform. Solitude has *purified* me.

The beastly roar, the wild fury, the terrible lust for vengeance with which the *maître d'école* welcomes Chouette are in complete contradiction to this moralising talk. They betray what kind of thoughts occupied him in his dungeon.

The *maître d'école* himself seems to realise this, but being a *Critical moralist*, he will know how to reconcile the contradictions.

He declares that the "infinite joy" of having Chouette in his power is precisely a sign of his reform, for his lust for vengeance is not a *natural* one but a *moral* one. He wants to avenge, not himself, but the common *victims* of Chouette and himself. If he murders her, he does not commit *murder*, he fulfils a *duty*. He does not *avenge* himself on her, he *punishes* his accomplice like an impartial judge. He shudders at his past murders and, nevertheless, marvelling at his own casuistry, he asks Chouette: "Don't you find it strange? Without fear and quite calmly I am going to kill you." On moral grounds that he does not reveal, he gloats at the same time over the picture of the murder that he is going to commit, as being a *meurtre affreux*, a *meurtre avec des raffinements affreux*.^a

It is in accord with the character of the *maître d'école* that he should murder Chouette, especially after the cruelty with which she treated him. But that he should commit murder on moral grounds, that he should give a moral interpretation to his savage pleasure in the *meurtre affreux* and the *raffinements affreux*, that he should show his remorse for the past murders precisely by committing a fresh one, that from a simple murderer he should become a *murderer in a double sense*, a *moral murderer*—all this is the glorious result of Rudolph's Critical cure.

Chouette tries to get away from the *maître d'école*. He notices it and holds her fast.

"Tiens-toi donc, la chouette, il faut que je finisse de t'expliquer comment peu à peu j'en suis venu à me repentir ... cette révélation te sera odieuse ... et elle te prouvera aussi combien je dois être impitoyable dans la vengeance, que je veux exercer sur toi au nom de nos victimes ... Il faut que je me hâte ... la joie de te tenir là me fait boudir le sang ... j'aurai le temps de te rendre les approches de la mort effroyables en te forçant de m'entendre ... Je suis aveugle ... et ma pensée prend une forme, un corps pour me représenter incessamment d'une manière visible, presque palpable ... les traits de mes victimes ... les idées s'imagent presque

^a Terrible murder ... murder with terrible refinements.—Ed.

matériellement dans le cerveau. Quand au repentir se joint une expiation d'une effrayante sévérité ... une expiation qui change notre vie en une longue insomnie remplie d'hallucinations vengeresses ou de réflexions désespérées ... peut-être alors le pardon des hommes succède au remords et à l'expiation."^a

The *maître d'école* continues with his hypocrisy which every minute betrays itself as such. Chouette must hear how he came by degrees to repentance. This revelation will be hateful to her, for it will prove that it is his *duty* to take a pitiless revenge on her, not in his own name, but in the name of their common victims. Suddenly the *maître d'école* interrupts his didactic lecture. He must, he says, "hurry" with his lecture, for the pleasure of having her in his hands makes the blood pound in his veins; that is a moral reason for cutting the lecture short! Then he calms his blood again. The long time that he takes in preaching her a moral sermon is not wasted for his revenge. It will "make the approach of death terrifying" for her. That is a different moral reason, one for protracting his sermon! And having such moral reasons he can safely resume his moral text where he left off.

The *maître d'école* describes correctly the condition to which isolation from the outer world reduces a man. For one to whom the *sensuously perceptible world* becomes a *mere idea*, for him mere ideas are transformed into *sensuously perceptible beings*. The figments of his brain assume corporeal form. A world of tangible, palpable ghosts is begotten within his mind. That is the secret of all pious visions and at the same time it is the general form of insanity. When the *maître d'école* repeats Rudolph's words about the "power of repentance and atonement linked with terrible torments", he does so in a state of semi-madness, thus proving in fact the connection between Christian consciousness of sin and insanity. Similarly, when the *maître d'école* considers the transformation of *life* into a *night of dream* filled with ghosts as the real result of repentance and atonement, he is expressing the

^a "Keep still, Chouette, I must finish explaining to you how I gradually came to repentance.... This revelation will be hateful to you ... and it will also show you how pitiless I must be in the vengeance I want to wreak on you in the name of our victims.... I must hurry.... The joy of having you here in my hands makes the blood pound in my veins.... I shall have time to make the approach of your death terrifying to you by forcing you to listen to me.... I am blind ... and my thoughts take a shape, a body, such that they incessantly present to me visibly, almost palpably ... the features of my victims.... The ideas are reflected almost materially in my brain. When repentance is linked with an atonement of terrifying severity, an atonement that changes our life into a long sleeplessness filled with hallucinations of revenge or desperate reflections ... then, perhaps, the pardon of men follows remorse and atonement."—*Ed.*

true mystery of pure Criticism and of Christian reform, which consists in changing man into a ghost and his life into a *life of dream*.

At this point Eugène Sue realises how the *salutary thoughts* which he makes the blind robber prate after Rudolph will be made ridiculous by the robber's treatment of Chouette. That is why he makes the *maître d'école* say:

"La salutaire influence de ces pensées est telle que ma fureur s'apaise."^a

So the *maître d'école* now admits that his *moral wrath* was nothing but *profane rage*.

"Le courage ... la force ... la volonté me manquent pour te tuer ... non, ce n'est pas à moi de verser ton sang ... ce serait ... un *meurtre*" (he calls things by their names) ... "meurtre excusable peut-être ... mais ce serait toujours un meurtre."^b

Chouette wounds the *maître d'école* with a dagger just in time. Eugène Sue can now let him kill her without any further moral casuistry.

"Il poussa un cri de douleur ... les ardeurs féroces de sa vengeance, de ses rages, ses instincts sanguinaires, brusquement réveillés et exaspérés par cette attaque, firent une explosion soudaine, terrible, où s'abîma sa raison déjà fortement ébranlée ... Ah vipère! ... j'ai senti ta dent ... tu seras comme moi *sans yeux*."^c

And he scratches her eyes out.

When the nature of the *maître d'école*, which has been only hypocritically, sophistically disguised, only ascetically repressed by Rudolph's cure, breaks out, the *outburst* is all the more violent and terrifying. We must be grateful to Eugène Sue for his admission that the reason of the *maître d'école* was badly shaken by all the events which Rudolph has prepared.

"The last spark of his reason was extinguished in that cry of terror, in that cry of a damned soul" (he sees the ghosts of his murdered victims) "... the *maître d'école* rages and roars like a *frenzied beast*.... He tortures Chouette to death."

Herr Szeliga mutters under his breath:

^a "The salutary influence of these thoughts is such that my rage is appeased."—*Ed.*

^b "I lack courage ... strength ... will to kill you.... No, it is not for me to shed your blood ... it would be ... *murder*.... Excusable murder, perhaps, but murder all the same."—*Ed.*

^c "He uttered a cry of pain ... his fierce passion of vengeance, of rage and of bloodthirsty instinct, suddenly aroused and exacerbated by this attack, had a sudden and terrible outburst in which his already badly shaken reason was shattered.... Viper! I have felt your fang ... you will be *sightless* as I am."—*Ed.*

“With the *maître d'école* there cannot be such a *swift*” (!) “and *fortunate*” (!) “*transformation*” (!) “as with *Schurimann*.”

Just as Rudolph sends Fleur de Marie into a convent, he makes the *maître d'école* an inmate of the *Bicêtre* asylum. He has paralysed his *spiritual* as well as his physical strength. And rightly. For the *maître d'école* sinned with his spiritual as well as his physical strength, and according to Rudolph's penal theory the *sinning forces* must be annihilated.

But Eugène Sue has not yet consummated the “repentance and atonement linked with a terrible revenge”. The *maître d'école* recovers his reason, but fearing to be delivered to justice he remains in *Bicêtre* and *pretends* to be mad. Monsieur Sue forgets that “every word he said was to be a *prayer*”, whereas finally it is much more like the inarticulate howling and raving of a madman. Or does Monsieur Sue perhaps ironically put these manifestations of life on the *same* level as praying?

The idea underlying the punishment that Rudolph carried out in blinding the *maître d'école*—the isolation of the man and his soul from the outer world, the combination of legal punishment with theological torture—finds its ultimate expression in *solitary confinement*. That is why Monsieur Sue glorifies this system.

“How many centuries had to pass before it was realised that there is *only one* means of overcoming the rapidly spreading leprosy” (i.e., the corruption of morals in prisons) “which is threatening the body of society: isolation.”

Monsieur Sue shares the opinion of the worthy people who explain the spread of crime by the organisation of prisons. To remove the criminal from bad society he is left to his own society.

Eugène Sue says:

“I should consider myself lucky if my weak voice could be heard among all those which so rightly and so insistently demand the *complete* and *absolute* application of solitary confinement.”

Monsieur Sue's wish has been only *partially* fulfilled. In the debates on solitary confinement in the Chamber of Deputies this year, even the official supporters of that system had to acknowledge that it leads sooner or later to insanity in the criminal. All sentences of imprisonment for more than ten years had therefore to be converted into deportation.

Had Messieurs Tocqueville and Beaumont studied Eugène Sue's novel thoroughly they would certainly have secured complete and absolute application of solitary confinement.

If Eugène Sue deprives criminals with a sane mind of society in

order to make them insane, he gives insane persons society to make them sane.

"L'expérience prouve que pour les aliénés l'isolement est aussi funeste qu'il est salutaire pour les détenus criminels."^a

If Monsieur Sue and his Critical hero Rudolph have not made *law* poorer by any mystery, whether through the *Catholic penal theory* or the *Methodist solitary confinement*, they have, on the other hand, enriched medicine with new mysteries, and after all, it is just as much of a service to *discover new* mysteries as to *disclose old* ones. In its report on the blinding of the *maître d'école*, Critical Criticism fully agrees with Monsieur Sue:

"When he is told he is deprived of the light of his eyes he does not even believe it."

The *maître d'école* could not believe in the loss of his sight because in reality he could still see. Monsieur Sue is describing a new kind of cataract and is reporting a real mystery for mass-type, un-Critical *ophthalmology*.

The *pupil* is *white* after the operation, so it is a case of *cataract of the crystalline lens*. So far, this could, of course, be caused by injury to the envelope of the lens without causing much pain, though not entirely without pain. But as doctors achieve this result only by *natural*, not by *Critical* means, the only resort was to wait until inflammation set in after the injury and the exudation dimmed the lens.

A still greater *miracle* and greater *mystery* befall the *maître d'école* in the third chapter of the third book.

The man who has been blinded *sees* again.

"La Chouette, le maître d'école et Tortillard *virent* le prêtre et Fleur de Marie."^b

If we do not interpret this restoration of the *maître d'école's* ability to see as an *author's miracle* after the method of the *Kritik der Synoptiker*, the *maître d'école* must have had his cataract operated on again. Later he is blind again. So he used his eyes too soon and the irritation of the light caused inflammation which ended in paralysis of the *retina* and incurable *amaurosis*. It is another *mystery* for un-Critical *ophthalmology* that this process takes place here in a *single* second.

^a "Experience proves that isolation is as fatal for the insane as it is salutary for imprisoned criminals."—*Ed.*

^b "Chouette, the *maître d'école* and Tortillard *saw* the priest and Fleur de Marie."—*Ed.*

b) Reward and Punishment. Double Justice

(with a Table)

The hero Rudolph reveals a new theory to keep society upright by *rewarding the good* and *punishing the wicked*. Un-Critically considered, this theory is nothing but the theory of society as it is today. How little lacking it is in rewards for the good and punishments for the wicked! Compared with this revealed mystery, how un-Critical is the mass-type Communist *Owen*, who sees in punishment and reward the consecration of differences in social rank and the complete expression of a servile abasement.

It could be considered as a *new* revelation that Eugène Sue makes rewards derive from the judiciary—from a new appendix to the Penal Code—and not satisfied with *one* jurisdiction he invents a *second*. Unfortunately this revealed mystery, too, is the repetition of an old theory expounded in detail by *Bentham* in his work already mentioned.^a On the other hand, we cannot deny Monsieur Eugène Sue the honour of having motivated and developed Bentham's suggestion in an incomparably more Critical way than the latter. Whereas the mass-type Englishman keeps his feet on the ground, Sue's deduction rises to the Critical region of the heavens. His argument is as follows:

"The supposed effects of heavenly wrath are materialised to deter the wicked. Why should not the effect of the divine reward of the good be similarly materialised and anticipated on earth?"

In the *un-Critical* view it is the other way round: the heavenly criminal theory has only idealised the earthly theory, just as divine reward is only an idealisation of human wage service. It is absolutely necessary that society should not reward all good people so that divine justice will have some advantage over human justice.

In depicting his Critical rewarding justice, Monsieur Sue gives "an example of the *feminine dogmatism* that must have a formula and forms it according to the categories of *what exists*",^b dogmatism which was censured with all the "tranquillity of knowledge" by Herr Edgar in *Flora Tristan*. For each point of the present *penal code*, which he retains, Monsieur Sue projects the addition of a counterpart in a *reward code* copied from it to the last detail. For easier survey we shall give his description of the complementary pairs in tabular form:

^a *Théorie des peines et des récompenses.—Ed.*

^b See pp. 19-20 of this volume.—*Ed.*

Table of Critically Complete Justice

Existing Justice	Critically Supplementing Justice
Name: Justice <i>Criminelle</i> ^a	Name: Justice <i>Vertueuse</i> ^b
<i>Description:</i> holds in its hand a sword to shorten the wicked by a head.	<i>Description:</i> holds in its hand a crown to raise the good by a head.
<i>Purpose:</i> Punishment of the wicked—imprisonment, infamy, deprivation of life.	<i>Purpose:</i> Reward of the good, free board, honour, maintenance of life.
The people is notified of the terrible chastisements for the wicked.	The people is notified of the brilliant triumphs for the good.
<i>Means of discovering the wicked:</i> Police spying, <i>mouchards</i> , to keep watch over the wicked.	<i>Means of discovering the good:</i> <i>Espionnage de vertu, mouchards</i> ^c to keep watch over the virtuous.
<i>Method of ascertaining whether someone is wicked:</i> <i>Les assises du crime</i> , criminal assizes. The public ministry points out and indicts the crimes of the accused for public vengeance.	<i>Method of ascertaining whether someone is good:</i> <i>Assises de la vertu</i> , virtue assizes. The public ministry points out and proclaims the noble deeds of the accused for public recognition.
<i>Condition of the criminal after sentence:</i> Under <i>surveillance de la haute police</i> . ^d Is fed in prison. The state defrays expenses.	<i>Condition of the virtuous after sentence:</i> Under <i>surveillance de la haute charité morale</i> . ^e Is fed at home. The state defrays expenses.
<i>Execution:</i> The criminal stands on the scaffold.	<i>Execution:</i> Immediately opposite the scaffold of the criminal a pedestal is erected on which the <i>grand homme de bien</i> ^f stands.—A pillory of virtue.

^a Criminal justice.—Ed.^b Virtuous justice.—Ed.^c Spying out virtue, informers.—Ed.^d Supervision of the supreme police.—Ed.^e Supervision of supreme moral charity.—Ed.^f Man of great virtue.—Ed.

Moved by the sight of this picture, Monsieur Sue exclaims:

“Hélas, c'est une utopie, mais supposez qu'une société soit *organisée* de telle sorte!”^a

That would be the *Critical organisation of society*. We must defend this organisation against Eugène Sue's reproach that up to now it has remained a utopia. Sue has again forgotten the “*Virtue Prize*” which is awarded every year in Paris and which he himself mentions. This prize is even organised in duplicate: the material *prix Montyon* for noble acts of men and women, and the *prix rosière* for girls of highest morality. There is even the *wreath of roses* demanded by Eugène Sue.

As far as *espionnage de vertu* and the *surveillance de haute charité morale* are concerned, they were organised long ago by the Jesuits. Moreover, the *Journal des Débats*, *Siècle*, *Petites affiches de Paris*, etc., point out and proclaim the virtues, noble acts and merits of all the Paris stockjobbers^b daily and at cost price not counting the pointing out and proclamation of political noble acts, for which each party has its own organ.

Old Voss remarked long ago that Homer is better than his gods. The “revealed mystery of all mysteries”, Rudolph, can therefore be made responsible for Eugène Sue's ideas.

In addition, Herr *Szeliga* reports:

“Besides, the passages in which Eugène Sue interrupts the narration and introduces or concludes episodes are very numerous, and all are *Critical*.”

c) Abolition of Degeneracy Within Civilisation and of Rightlessness in the State

The juridical *preventive means* for the abolition of crime and hence of degeneracy within civilisation consists in the

“protective guardianship assumed by the state over the children of executed criminals or of those condemned to a life sentence”.

Sue wants to organise the subdivision of crime in a more liberal way. No family should any longer have a hereditary privilege to crime; free competition in crime should triumph over monopoly.

Monsieur Sue abolishes “rightlessness in the state” by reforming the section of the *Code pénal* on *abus de confiance*,^c and especially by the institution of *paid lawyers for the poor*. He finds that in

^a Alas! It is a utopia! But suppose a society were *organised* in this way!

^b This word is in English in the original.—*Ed.*

^c Breach of trust.—*Ed.*

Piedmont, Holland, etc., where there are lawyers for the poor, rightlessness in the state has been abolished. The only failing of French legislation is that it does not provide for payment of lawyers for the poor, has no lawyers restricted to serving the poor, and makes the legal limits of poverty too narrow. As if rightlessness did not begin in the very *lawsuit* itself, and as if it had not already been known for a long time in France that the *law* gives nothing, but only sanctions what exists. The already trivial differentiation between *droit* and *fait* seems still to be a *mystère de Paris* for the Critical novelist.

If we add to the Critical revelation of the mysteries of law the great reforms which Eugène Sue wants to institute in respect of *huissiers*,^a we shall understand the Paris journal *Satan*. There we see the residents of a district in the city write to the "*grand réformateur à tant la ligne*"^b that there is no gaslight yet in their streets. Monsieur Sue replies that he will deal with this shortcoming in the sixth volume of his *Juif errant*.^c Another part of the city complains of the shortcomings of preliminary education. He promises a preliminary education reform for that district of the city in the tenth volume of *Juif errant*.

4) THE REVEALED MYSTERY OF THE "STANDPOINT"

"Rudolph does not remain at his lofty" (!) "*standpoint* ... he does not shirk the trouble of adopting by free choice the *standpoints* on the right and on the left, above and below" (*Szeliga*).

One of the principal mysteries of Critical Criticism is the "*standpoint*" and *judgment from the standpoint of the standpoint*. For Criticism every man, like every product of the spirit, is turned into a standpoint.

Nothing is easier than to see through the mystery of the standpoint when one has seen through the general mystery of Critical Criticism, that of warming up old speculative trash.

First of all, let *Criticism* itself expound its theory of the "standpoint" in the words of its patriarch, Herr *Bruno Bauer*.

"Science ... *never* deals with a *given single individual* or a *given definite standpoint*.... It will not fail, of course, *to do away with the limitations of a standpoint* if it is worth the trouble and if these limitations have really general human significance; but it conceives them as *pure category and determinateness of self-consciousness* and accordingly speaks only for those who have the courage to rise to

^a Bailiffs.—*Ed.*

^b "Great reformer at so much a line."—*Ed.*

^c *The Wandering Jew*.—*Ed.*

the *generality of self-consciousness*, i.e., who do not wish with all their strength to remain within those limitations" (*Anekdoten*, t. II, p. 127).^a

The *mystery* of this courage of Bauer's is Hegel's *Phänomenologie*. Because Hegel here substitutes *self-consciousness* for *man*, the most varied manifestations of human reality appear only as *definite* forms, as *determinateness of self-consciousness*. But mere determinateness of self-consciousness is a "*pure category*", a mere "*thought*", which I can consequently also transcend in "*pure*" thought and overcome through pure thought. In Hegel's *Phänomenologie* the *material, sensuously perceptible, objective* foundations of the various estranged forms of human self-consciousness are allowed to *remain*. The whole destructive work results in the *most conservative philosophy* because it thinks it has overcome the *objective world*, the sensuously perceptible real world, by transforming it into a "*Thing of Thought*", a mere *determinateness of self-consciousness*, and can therefore also dissolve its opponent, which has become *ethereal*, in the "*ether of pure thought*". The *Phänomenologie* is therefore quite consistent in that it ends by replacing human reality by "*absolute knowledge*"—*knowledge*, because this is the only mode of existence of self-consciousness, and because self-consciousness is considered the only mode of existence of man—*absolute knowledge* for the very reason that self-consciousness knows *only itself* and is no longer disturbed by any objective world. Hegel makes man the *man of self-consciousness* instead of making self-consciousness the *self-consciousness of man*, of real man, i.e., of man living also in a real, objective world and determined by that world. He stands the world *on its head* and can therefore *in his head* also dissolve all limitations, which nevertheless remain in existence *for bad sensuousness*, for *real man*. Moreover, everything that betrays the *limitations of general self-consciousness*—all sensuousness, reality, individuality of men and of their world—is necessarily held by him to be a limit. The whole of the *Phänomenologie* is intended to prove that *self-consciousness* is the *only reality* and *all reality*.

Herr Bauer has recently re-christened absolute knowledge *Criticism*, and given the more profane sounding name *standpoint* to the determinateness of self-consciousness. In the *Anekdoten* both names are still to be found side by side, and standpoint is still explained as the determinateness of self-consciousness.

Since the "*religious world as such*" exists only as the world of *self-consciousness*, the Critical Critic—the theologian *ex profes-*

^a B. Bauer, *Leiden und Freuden des theologischen Bewusstseins*.—Ed.

so—cannot by any means entertain the thought that there is a world in which *consciousness* and *being* are distinct; a world which continues to exist when I merely abolish its existence in thought, its existence as a category or as a standpoint; i.e., when I modify my own subjective consciousness without altering the objective reality in a really objective way, that is to say, without altering my own *objective* reality and that of other men. Hence the speculative *mystical identity of being and thinking* is repeated in Criticism as the equally mystical identity of *practice and theory*. That is why Criticism is so vexed with practice which wants to be something distinct from theory, and with theory which wants to be something other than the dissolution of a definite *category* in the “*boundless generality of self-consciousness*”. Its own theory is confined to stating that everything determinate is an opposite of the boundless generality of self-consciousness and is, therefore, of no significance; for example, the state, private property, etc. It must be shown, on the contrary, how the state, private property, etc., turn human beings into abstractions, or are products of *abstract* man, instead of being the reality of individual, concrete human beings.

Finally, it goes without saying that whereas Hegel's *Phänomenologie*, in spite of its speculative original sin, gives in many instances the elements of a true description of human relations, Herr Bruno and Co., on the other hand, provide only an empty caricature, a caricature which is satisfied with deriving any determinateness out of a product of the spirit or even out of real relations and movements, changing this determinateness into a determinateness of thought, into a *category*, and making out that this category is the *standpoint* of the product, of the relation and the movement, in order then to be able to look down on this determinateness triumphantly with old-man's wisdom from the standpoint of abstraction, of the general category and of general self-consciousness.

Just as in Rudolph's opinion all human beings maintain the standpoint of good or bad and are judged by these two immutable conceptions, so for Herr Bauer and Co. all human beings adopt the standpoint of *Criticism* or that of the *Mass*. But both turn *real human beings* into *abstract standpoints*.

5) REVELATION OF THE MYSTERY OF THE UTILISATION OF HUMAN IMPULSES, OR CLEMENCE D'HARVILLE

So far Rudolph has been unable to do more than reward the good and punish the wicked in his own way. We shall now see an example

of how he makes the *passions* useful and “gives the good natural disposition of Clémence d’Harville an appropriate development”.

“Rudolph,” says Herr Szeliga, “draws her attention to the *entertaining* aspect of *charity*, a thought which testifies to a knowledge of human beings that can *only* arise in the soul of Rudolph after it has been through trial.”

The expressions which Rudolph uses in his conversation with Clémence:

“faire *attrayant*”, “*utiliser le goût naturel*”, “*régler l'intrigue*”, “*utiliser les penchants à la dissimulation et à la ruse*”, “changer en qualités généreuses des instincts impérieux, inexorables”^a etc.,

these expressions just as much as the *impulses* themselves, which are mostly attributed here to woman’s nature, *betray* the secret source of Rudolph’s wisdom — *Fourier*. He has come across some popular presentation of *Fourier’s* theory.

The *application* is again just as much Rudolph’s Critical own as is the exposition of *Bentham’s* theory given above.

It is not in *charity as such* that the young marquise is to find the satisfaction of her essential human nature, a human content and purpose of her activity, and hence entertainment. *Charity* offers rather only the external occasion, only the *pretext*, only the *material*, for a kind of entertainment that could just as well use any other material as its content. Misery is exploited consciously to procure the charitable person “the piquancy of a novel, the satisfaction of curiosity, adventure, disguise, enjoyment of his or her own excellence, violent nervous excitement”, and the like.

Rudolph has thereby unconsciously expressed the mystery which was revealed long ago, that human misery itself, the infinite abjectness which is obliged to receive alms, must serve the aristocracy of money and education as a *plaything* to satisfy its self-love, tickle its arrogance and amuse it.

The numerous charitable associations in Germany, the numerous charitable societies in France and the great number of charitable quixotic societies in England, the concerts, balls, plays, meals for the poor, and even the public subscriptions for victims of accidents, have no other object. It seems then that along these lines *charity*, too, has long been *organised* as entertainment.

The sudden, unmotivated transformation of the marquise at the mere word “*amusant*” makes us doubt the durability of her cure;

^a “To make attractive”, “to utilise natural taste”, “to regulate intrigue”, “to utilise the propensity to dissimulation and craft”, “to change imperious, inexorable instincts into noble qualities”.—Ed.

or rather this transformation is sudden and unmotivated only in appearance and is caused only in appearance by the description of *charité* as an amusement. The marquise *loves* Rudolph and Rudolph wants to disguise himself *along with her*, to intrigue and to indulge in charitable adventures. Later, when the marquise pays a charity visit to the prison of Saint-Lazare, her jealousy of Fleur de Marie becomes apparent and out of charity towards her jealousy she conceals from Rudolph the fact of Marie's detention. At the best, Rudolph has succeeded in teaching an unhappy woman to play a silly comedy with unhappy beings. The mystery of the *philanthropy* he has hatched is betrayed by the Paris fop who invites his partner to supper after the dance in the following words:

"Ah, Madame! ce n'est pas assez d'avoir dansé au bénéfice des ces pauvres Polonais ... soyons philanthropes jusqu'au bout ... allons *souper* maintenant au *profit des pauvres!*"^a

6) REVELATION OF THE MYSTERY OF THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN, OR LOUISE MOREL

On the occasion of the arrest of *Louise Morel*, Rudolph indulges in reflections which he sums up as follows:

"The master often ruins the maid, either by fear, surprise or other use of the opportunities provided by the nature of *the servants' condition*. He reduces her to misery, shame and crime. The *law is not concerned* with this.... The criminal who has in fact driven a girl to infanticide is not *punished.*"

Rudolph's reflections do not go so far as to make the *servants' condition* the object of his most gracious Criticism. Being a *petty* ruler, he is a *great* patroniser of servants' conditions. Still less does he go so far as to understand that the general position of women in modern society is inhuman. Faithful in all respects to his previous theory, he deplors only that there is no *law which punishes* a seducer and links repentance and atonement with terrible chastisement.

Rudolph has only to take a look at the existing legislation in other countries. *English* laws fulfil all his wishes. In their delicacy, which *Blackstone* so highly praises, they go so far as to declare it a *felony* to seduce even a prostitute.

Herr Szeliga exclaims with a *flourish*:

^a "Ah, Madame, it is not enough to have danced for the benefit of these poor Poles.... Let us be philanthropic to the end.... Let us have *supper* now for the *benefit of the poor!*"—Ed.

"So" (!)—"thinks" (!)—"Rudolph" (!)—"and now compare *these thoughts* with your *fantasies* about the *emancipation of woman*. The act of this emancipation can be almost physically grasped from them, but you are much too practical to start with, and that is why your attempts have failed so often."

In any case we must thank Herr Szeliga for revealing the mystery that an act can be almost physically grasped from thoughts. As for his ridiculous comparison of Rudolph with men who taught the emancipation of woman, compare Rudolph's *thoughts* with the following "fantasies" of *Fourier*:

"Adultery, seduction, are a credit to the seducer, are good tone.... But, poor girl! Infanticide! What a crime! If she prizes her honour she must efface all traces of dishonour. But if she sacrifices her child to the prejudices of the world her ignominy is all the greater and she is a victim of the prejudices of the law.... That is the *vicious circle* which every civilised mechanism describes."

"Is not the young daughter a ware held up for sale to the first bidder who wishes to obtain exclusive ownership of her?... De même qu'en grammaire deux négations valent une affirmation, l'on peut dire qu'en *négoce conjugal* deux *prostitutions valent une vertu*."^a

"The change in a historical epoch can always be determined by women's progress towards freedom, because here, in the relation of woman to man, of the weak to the strong, the victory of human nature over brutality is most evident. The degree of emancipation of woman is the natural measure of general emancipation."

"The humiliation of the female sex is an essential feature of civilisation as well as of barbarism. The only difference is that the civilised system raises every vice that barbarism practises in a simple form to a compound, equivocal, ambiguous, hypocritical mode of existence.... No one is punished more severely for keeping woman in slavery than man himself" (*Fourier*).⁶⁷

It is superfluous to contrast Rudolph's thoughts with Fourier's masterly characterisation of *marriage*, or with the works of the materialist section of French communism.⁶⁸

The most pitiful off-scourings of socialist literature, a sample of which is to be found in this novelist, reveal "mysteries" still unknown to Critical Criticism.

7) REVELATION OF POLITICAL ECONOMIC MYSTERIES

a) Theoretical Revelation of Political Economic Mysteries

First revelation: Wealth often leads to waste, waste to ruin.

Second revelation: The above-mentioned effects of wealth arise from a lack of instruction in rich youth.

Third revelation: *Inheritance* and *private property* are and *must* be inviolable and sacred.

^a "Just as in grammar two negations are the equivalent of an affirmation, we can say that in the *marriage trade* two *prostitutions* are the equivalent of *virtue*."—*Ed.*

Fourth revelation: The rich man is *morally* responsible to the workers for the way he uses his fortune. A large fortune is a hereditary deposit—a *feudal tenement*—entrusted to clever, firm, skilful and magnanimous hands, which are at the same time charged with making it fruitful and using it in such a way that everything which has the *good luck* to be within the range of the dazzling and wholesome radiation of that large fortune is fructified, vitalised and improved.

Fifth revelation: The state must give inexperienced rich youth the *rudiments* of *individual economy*. It must give a moral character to riches.

Sixth revelation: Finally, the state must tackle the vast question of *organisation of labour*. It must give the wholesome example of the *association of capitals and labour*, of an association which is honest, intelligent and fair, which ensures the well-being of the *worker without prejudice to the fortune of the rich*, which establishes *links of sympathy and gratitude between these two classes* and thus ensures tranquility in the state *for ever*.

Since the state at present does not yet accept this theory *Rudolph* himself gives some practical examples. They reveal the mystery that the most generally known *economic relations* are still “mysteries” for Monsieur Sue, Monsieur Rudolph and Critical Criticism.

b) “The Bank for the Poor”

Rudolph institutes a *Bank for the Poor*. The statute of this *Critical Bank for the Poor* is as follows:

It must give support during periods of unemployment to honest workers with families. It must replace alms and pawnshops. It has at its disposal an annual income of 12,000 francs and distributes interest-free assistance loans of 20 to 40 francs. At first it extends its activity only to the *seventh arrondissement* of Paris, where most of the workers live. Working men and women applying for relief must have a certificate from their last employer vouching for their good behaviour and giving the cause and date of the interruption of work. These loans are to be paid off in monthly instalments of one-sixth or one-twelfth of the sum at the choice of the borrower, counting from the day on which he finds employment again. The loan is guaranteed by the borrower’s word of honour. Moreover, the latter’s *parole jurée*^a must be guaranteed by two other workers.

^a Sworn word.—Ed.

As the Critical purpose of the Bank for the Poor is to remedy one of the most grievous misfortunes in the life of the worker—*interruption in employment*—assistance would be given only to unemployed manual workers. Monsieur Germain, the manager of this institution, draws a yearly salary of 10,000 francs.

Let us now cast a mass-type glance at the practice of Critical political economy. The annual income is 12,000 francs. The amount loaned per person is from 20 to 40 francs, hence an average of 30 francs. The number of workers in the seventh *arrondissement* who are officially recognised as “needy” is at least 4,000. Hence, in a year only 400, or one-tenth, of the neediest workers in the seventh *arrondissement* can receive relief. If we estimate the *average length* of unemployment in Paris at 4 months, i.e., 16 weeks, we shall be considerably below the actual figure. Thirty francs divided over 16 weeks gives somewhat less than 37 sous and 3 centimes a week, not even 27 centimes a day. The daily expense on *one prisoner* in France is on the average a little over 47 centimes, somewhat over 30 centimes being spent on food alone. But the worker to whom Monsieur Rudolph pays relief has a family. Let us take the average family as consisting of man, wife and only two children; that means that 27 centimes must be divided among four persons. From this we must deduct rent—a minimum of 15 centimes a day—so that 12 centimes remain. The average amount of *bread* eaten by a *single* prisoner costs about 14 centimes. Therefore, even disregarding all other needs, the worker and his family will not be able to buy even a quarter of the bread they need with the help obtained from the Critical Bank for the Poor. They will certainly starve if they do not resort to the means that the bank is intended to obviate—the pawnshop, begging, thieving and prostitution.

The manager of the Bank for the Poor, on the other hand, is all the more brilliantly provided for by the man of ruthless Criticism. The income he administers is 12,000 francs, his salary is 10,000. The management therefore costs 85 per cent of the total, nearly three times as much as the mass-type administration of poor relief in Paris, which costs about 17 per cent of the total.

Let us suppose for a moment that the assistance that the Bank for the Poor provides is real, not just illusory. In that case the institution of the revealed mystery of all mysteries rests on the illusion that only a different *distribution* of wages is required to enable the workers to live through the year.

Speaking in the prosaic sense, the income of 7,500,000 French workers averages no more than 91 francs per head, that of

another 7,500,000 is only 120 francs per head; hence for at least 15,000,000 it is less than is absolutely necessary for life.

The idea of the Critical Bank for the Poor, if it is rationally conceived, amounts to this: during the time the worker is employed as much will be deducted from his wages as he needs for his living during unemployment. It comes to the same thing whether I advance him a certain sum during his unemployment and he gives it back when he has employment, or he gives up a certain sum when he has employment and I give it back to him when he is unemployed. In either case he gives me when he is working what he gets from me when he is unemployed.

Thus, the "pure" *Bank for the Poor* differs from the mass-type *savings-banks* only in two very original, very Critical qualities. The first is that the Bank for the Poor lends money "*à fonds perdus*"^a on the senseless assumption that the worker could pay back if he wanted to and that he would always want to pay back if he could. The second is that it pays no *interest* on the sum put aside by the worker. As this sum is given the form of an advance, the Bank for the Poor thinks it is doing the worker a favour by not charging him any interest.

The difference between the Critical Bank for the Poor and the mass-type savings-banks is therefore that the worker loses his interest and the Bank its capital.

c) Model Farm at Bouqueval

Rudolph founds a *model farm* at *Bouqueval*. The choice of the place is all the more fortunate as it preserves memories of feudal times, namely of a *château seigneurial*.^b

Each of the six men employed on this farm is paid 150 écus, or 450 francs a year, while the women get 60 écus, or 180 francs. Moreover they get board and lodging free. The ordinary daily fare of the people at Bouqueval consists of a "formidable" plate of ham, an equally formidable plate of mutton and, finally, a no less massive piece of veal supplemented by two kinds of winter salad, two large cheeses, potatoes, cider, etc. Each of the six men does *twice* the work of the ordinary French agricultural labourer.

As the total annual income produced by France, if divided equally, would come to no more than 93 francs per person, and as the total number of inhabitants employed directly in agriculture is

^a Not to be repaid.—*Ed.*

^b A feudal manor.—*Ed.*

two-thirds of the population of France, it will be seen what a revolution the general imitation of the German caliph's model farm would cause not only in the distribution, but also in the production of the national wealth.

According to what has been said, Rudolph achieved this enormous increase in production solely by making each labourer work twice as much and eat six times as much as before.

Since the French peasant is very industrious, labourers who work *twice* as much must be *superhuman athletes*, as the "formidable" meat dishes also seem to indicate. Hence we may assume that each of the six men eats at least a pound of meat a day.

If all the meat produced in France were distributed equally there would not be even a quarter of a pound per person per day. It is therefore obvious what a revolution Rudolph's example would cause in this respect too. The agricultural population *alone* would consume more meat than is produced in France, so that as a result of this Critical reform France would be left without any live-stock.

The fifth part of the gross product which Rudolph, according to the report of the manager of Bouqueval, Father Chatelain, allows the labourers, in addition to the high wage and sumptuous board, is nothing else than his *rent*. It is assumed that, on the average, after deduction of all production costs and profit on the working capital, one-fifth of the gross product remains for the French landowner, that is to say, the ratio of the rent to the gross product is one to five. Although it is beyond doubt that Rudolph decreases the profit on his working capital beyond all proportion by increasing the expenditure for the labourers beyond all proportion—according to Chaptal (*De l'industrie française*, t. I, p. 239) the average yearly income of the French agricultural labourer is 120 francs—although Rudolph gives his whole rent away to the labourers, Father Chatelain nevertheless reports that the prince thereby increases his revenue and thus inspires un-Critical land-owners to farm in the same way.

The Bouqueval model farm is nothing but a fantastic illusion; its *hidden fund* is not the *natural* land of the Bouqueval estate, it is a magic purse of Fortunatus that Rudolph has!

In this connection Critical Criticism exultantly declares:

"You can see from the *whole* plan at a *first glance* that it is *not a utopia*."

Only Critical Criticism can see at a first glance at a *Fortunatus' purse* that it is not a utopia. The first glance of Criticism is—the glance of "the evil eye"!

8) RUDOLPH,
 "THE REVEALED MYSTERY OF ALL MYSTERIES"

The miraculous means by which Rudolph accomplishes all his redemptions and miracle cures is not his fine words but his *ready money*. That is what the moralists are like, says Fourier. You must be a millionaire to be able to imitate their heroes.

Morality is "*impuissance mise en action*".^a Every time it fights a vice it is defeated. And Rudolph does not even rise to the standpoint of independent morality, which is based at least on the consciousness of *human dignity*. His morality, on the contrary, is based on the consciousness of human weakness. His is the *theological* morality. We have investigated in detail the heroic feats that he accomplished with his *fixed, Christian* ideas, by which he measures the world, with his "*charité*", "*dévouement*", "*abnégation*", "*repentir*", "*bons*" and "*méchants*", "*récompense*" and "*punition*", "*châtiments terribles*", "*isolement*", "*salut de l'âme*",^b etc. We have proved that they are mere Eulenspiegel tricks. All that we still have to deal with here is the *personal* character of Rudolph, the "revealed mystery of all mysteries" or the revealed mystery of "*pure Criticism*".

The antithesis of "good" and "evil" confronts the Critical Hercules when he is still a youth in two personifications, *Murph* and *Polidori*, both of them Rudolph's teachers. The former educates him in good and is "the *Good One*". The latter educates him in evil and is "the *Evil One*". So that this conception should by no means be inferior in triviality to similar conceptions in other novels, *Murph*, the personification of "*the good*", cannot be "*savant*" or "particularly endowed intellectually". But he is *honest*, *simple*, and *laconic*; he feels himself great when he applies to evil such monosyllabic words as "*foul*" or "*vile*", and he has a *horreur* of anything which is *base*. To use Hegel's expression, he honestly sets the melody of the good and the true in an equality of tones, i.e., on *one note*.

Polidori, on the contrary, is a prodigy of cleverness, knowledge and education, and at the same time of the "most dangerous immorality", having, in particular, what Eugène Sue, as a member of the young pious French bourgeoisie, could not forget— "*le plus*

^a "*Impotence in action.*" Ch. Fourier, *Théorie des quatre mouvements et des destinées générales*, Part II, Epilogue.—Ed.

^b "*Charity*", "*devotion*", "*self-denial*", "*repentance*", the "*good*" and the "*wicked*" people, "*reward*" and "*punishment*", "*terrible chastisements*", "*isolation*", "*salvation of the soul*".—Ed.

effrayant scepticism".^a We can judge the spiritual energy and education of Eugène Sue and his hero by their panic fear of *scepticism*.

"Murph," says Herr Szeliga, "is at the same time the perpetuated guilt of January 13^b and the perpetual redemption of that guilt by his incomparable love and self-sacrifice for the person of Rudolph."

Just as Rudolph is the *deus ex machina* and the mediator of the world, so Murph, for his part, is the personal *deus ex machina* and mediator of Rudolph.

"Rudolph and the salvation of mankind, Rudolph and the realisation of man's essential perfections, are for Murph an inseparable unity, a unity to which he dedicates himself not with the stupid dog-like devotion of the slave, but knowingly and independently."

So Murph is an enlightened, knowing and independent slave. Like every prince's valet, he sees in his master the salvation of mankind personified. *Graun* flatters Murph with the words: "*intrépide garde du corps*".^c Rudolph himself calls him *modèle d'un valet*^d and truly he is a *model servant*. Eugène Sue tells us that Murph scrupulously addresses Rudolph as "Monseigneur" when alone with him. In the presence of others he calls him *Monsieur* with his lips to keep his incognito, but "Monseigneur" with his heart.

"Murph helps to raise the veil from the mysteries, but only for Rudolph's sake. He helps in the work of destroying the power of mystery."

The denseness of the veil which conceals the simplest conditions of the world from Murph can be seen from his conversation with the envoy *Graun*. From the legal right of self-defence in case of emergency he concludes that Rudolph, as *judge of the secret court*, was entitled to blind the *maître d'école*, although the latter was in chains and "defenceless". His description of how Rudolph will tell of his "noble" actions before the assizes, will make a display of eloquent phrases, and will let his great heart pour forth, is worthy of a grammar-school boy who has just read Schiller's *Raüber*. The only mystery which Murph lets the world solve is whether he blacked his face with coal-dust or black paint when he played the *charbonnier*.^e

^a "The most frightful scepticism"—*Ed.*

^b On this day, Rudolph, in a fit of anger, made an attempt on the life of his father, but repented and gave the word to do good.—*Ed.*

^c "Fearless bodyguard"—*Ed.*

^d A *model servant*.—*Ed.*

^e Coal-man.—*Ed.*

"The angels shall come forth and sever the wicked from among the just" (Mat. 13:49). "Tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that doeth evil...; But glory, honour, and peace, to every man that worketh good" (Rom. 2:9-10).

Rudolph makes himself one of those *angels*. He goes forth into the world to sever the wicked from among the just, to punish the wicked and reward the good. The conception of good and evil has sunk so deep into his weak brain that he really believes in a corporeal Satan and wants to catch the devil alive, as at one time Professor Sack wanted to in Bonn.⁶⁹ On the other hand, he tries to copy on a small scale the opposite of the devil, *God*. He likes "*de jouer un peu le rôle de la providence*".^a Just as in *reality* all differences become merged more and more in the difference between *poor* and *rich*, so *all* aristocratic differences become dissolved in *idea* in the opposition between *good* and *evil*. This distinction is the last form that the aristocrat gives to his prejudices. Rudolph regards himself as a good man and thinks that the wicked exist to afford him the self-satisfaction of his own excellence. Let us consider this personification of "the good" a little more closely.

Herr Rudolph indulges in charity and extravagance like the Caliph of Baghdad in the Arabian Nights. He cannot possibly lead that kind of life without sucking the blood out of his little principality in Germany to the last drop like a vampire. As Monsieur Sue tells us, he would have been one of the mediatised German princes⁷⁰ had he not been saved from involuntary abdication by the protection of a French *marquis*. This gives us an idea of the size of his territory. We can form a further idea of how *Critically* Rudolph appraises *his own situation* by the fact that he, a minor German *Serenissimus*, thinks it necessary to live semi-incognito in Paris in order not to attract attention. He specially takes with him one of his *chancellors* for the *Critical* purpose of the latter representing for him "*le côté théâtral et puéril du pouvoir souverain*"^b as though a minor German *Serenissimus* needed another representative of the theatrical and childish side of sovereign power besides himself and his mirror. Rudolph has succeeded in imposing on his suite the same *Critical self-delusion*. Thus his servant *Murph* and his envoy *Graun* do not notice that the Parisian *homme d'affaires*,^c Monsieur *Badinot*, makes fun of them when he pretends to take their private instructions as matters of state and sarcastically chatters about

^a "To play the role of Providence a little".—*Ed.*

^b "The theatrical and childish side of sovereign power".—*Ed.*

^c Household manager.—*Ed.*

"rapports occultes qui peuvent exister entre les intérêts les plus divers et les destinés des empires".^a "Yes," says Rudolph's envoy, "he has the impudence to say to me sometimes: 'How many complications unknown to the people there are in the government of a state! Who would think, Herr Baron, that the notes which I deliver to you doubtless have their influence on the course of *European affairs*?'"

The envoy and Murph do not find it impudent that influence on European affairs is ascribed to them, but that Badinot idealises his lowly occupation in such a way.

Let us first recall a scene from Rudolph's domestic life. Rudolph tells Murph "he was having moments of pride and bliss". Immediately afterwards he becomes furious because Murph will not answer a question of his. "*Je vous ordonne de parler.*"^b Murph will not let himself be ordered. Rudolph says: "*Je n'aime pas les réticences.*"^c He forgets himself so far as to be base enough to remind Murph that he *pays* him for all his services. He will not be calmed until Murph reminds him of January 13. Murph's servile nature reasserts itself after its momentary abeyance. He tears out his "hair", which he luckily has not got, and is desperate at having been somewhat rude to his exalted master who calls him "a model servant", "his good old faithful Murph".

After these samples of evil in him, Rudolph repeats his fixed ideas on "good" and "evil" and reports the progress he is making in regard to the good. He calls alms and compassion the chaste and pious consolers of his wounded soul. It would be horrible, impious, a *sacrilege*, to prostitute them to abject, unworthy beings. Of course alms and compassion are the consolers of *his* soul. That is why it would be a sacrilege to desecrate them. It would be "to inspire doubt in God, and he who gives must make people believe in Him". To give alms to one abject is unthinkable!

Rudolph considers every motion of his soul as infinitely important. That is why he constantly observes and appraises them. Thus the simpleton consoles himself as far as his outburst against Murph is concerned by the fact that he was moved by Fleur de Marie. "I was moved to tears, and I am accused of being *blasé*, hard and inflexible!" After thus proving *his own goodness*, he waxes furious over "*evil*", over the wickedness of Marie's unknown mother, and says with the greatest possible solemnity to Murph:

^a "Occult relations that can exist between the most varying interests and the destinies of empires".—*Ed.*

^b "I order you to speak."—*Ed.*

^c "I do not like reticences."—*Ed.*

"Tu le sais—certaines vengeances me sont bien chères, certaines souffrances bien précieuses".^a

In speaking, he makes such diabolical grimaces that his faithful servant cries out in fear: "Hélas, Monseigneur!" This great lord is like the members of *Young England*,⁷¹ who also wish to reform the world, perform noble deeds, and are subject to similar hysterical fits.

The explanation of the adventures and situations in which Rudolph finds himself involved is to be found above all in Rudolph's *adventurous disposition*. He loves "the piquancy of novels, distractions, adventures, disguise"; his "curiosity" is "insatiable", he feels a "need for vigorous, stimulating sensations", he is "eager for *violent nervous excitement*".

This disposition of Rudolph is reinforced by his craze for *playing the role of Providence* and arranging the world according to his fixed ideas.

His attitude to other persons is determined either by an abstract fixed idea or by quite personal, fortuitous motives.

He frees the Negro doctor David and his beloved, for example, not because of the direct human sympathy which they inspire, not to free *them*, but to play *Providence* to the slave-owner Willis and to punish him for *not believing in God*. In the same way the *maître d'école* seems to him a godsent opportunity for *applying* the penal theory that he invented so long ago. Murph's conversation with the envoy Graun enables us from another aspect to see deeply into the purely personal motives that determine Rudolph's noble acts.

The prince's interest in Fleur de Marie is based, as Murph says, "apart from" the pity which the poor girl inspires, on the fact that the daughter whose loss caused him such bitter grief would now be of the same age. Rudolph's sympathy for the Marquise d'Harville has, "apart from" his philanthropic idiosyncrasies, the personal ground that without the old Marquise d'Harville and his friendship with the Emperor Alexander, Rudolph's father would have been deleted from the line of German sovereigns.

His kindness towards Madame George and his interest in Germain, her son, have the same motive. Madame George belongs to the d'Harville family.

"C'est non moins à ses malheurs et à ses vertus qu'à *cette parenté* que la pauvre Madame George a dû les incessantes bontés de son Altesse."^b

^a "You know—some vengeances are very dear to me, some sufferings very precious."—*Ed.*

^b "It is no less to her misfortunes and her virtues than to *this relationship* that poor Madame George owes the ceaseless kindness of His Highness."—*Ed.*

The apologist Murph tries to gloss over the ambiguity of Rudolph's motives by such expressions as: "*surtout, à part, non moins que*".^a

The whole of Rudolph's character is finally summed up in the "pure" hypocrisy by which he manages to see and make others see the *outbursts of his evil passions as outbursts against the passions of the wicked*, in a way similar to that in which Critical Criticism represents its own *stupidities as the stupidities of the Mass*, its spiteful rancour at the progress of the world outside itself as the rancour of the world outside itself at progress, and finally its egoism, which thinks it has absorbed all Spirit in itself, as the egoistic opposition of the Mass to the Spirit.

We shall prove Rudolph's "pure" hypocrisy in his attitude to the *maître d'école*, to Countess Sarah MacGregor and to the notary Jacques Ferrand.

In order to lure the *maître d'école* into a trap and seize him, Rudolph persuades him to break into his apartment. The interest he has in this is a purely personal one, not a general human one. The fact is that the *maître d'école* has a *portfolio* belonging to Countess MacGregor, and Rudolph is greatly interested in gaining possession of it. Speaking of Rudolph's *tête-à-tête* with the *maître d'école*, the author says explicitly:

"Rodolphe se trouvait dans une anxiété cruelle; s'il laissait *échapper cette occasion de s'emparer du maître d'école*, il ne la retrouverait sans doute jamais; ce brigand emporterait les secrets que Rodolphe avait tant d'intérêt à savoir."^b

With the *maître d'école*, Rudolph obtains possession of Countess MacGregor's *portfolio*; he *seizes the maître d'école* out of purely personal interest; he has him *blinded* out of personal passion.

When Chourineur tells Rudolph of the struggle of the *maître d'école* with Murph and gives as the reason for his resistance the fact that he knew what was in store for him, Rudolph replies: "He did not know", and he says it "*d'un air sombre, les traits contractés par cette expression presque féroce, dont nous avons parlé*."^c The thought of vengeance flashes across his mind, he anticipates the savage pleasure that the barbarous punishment of the *maître d'école* will afford him.

^a "Above all", "apart from" and "no less than".—Ed.

^b "Rudolph was cruelly anxious; if he *let slip this opportunity of seizing the maître d'école*, he would probably never have another; the brigand would *carry away the secrets* that Rudolph was so keen to find out."—Ed.

^c "With a *sombre mien*, his features contracted by the almost ferocious expression of which we have spoken".—Ed.

On the entrance of the Negro doctor David, whom he intends to make the instrument of his *vengeance*, Rudolph cries out:

“‘Vengeance!... Vengeance!’ s’écria Rodolphe avec une *fureur froide et concentrée*.”^a

A cold and concentrated fury is seething in him. Then he whispers his plan in the doctor’s ear, and when the latter recoils at it, he immediately finds a “pure” theoretical motive to substitute for *personal vengeance*. It is only a case, he says, of “*applying an idea*” that has often flashed across his noble mind, and he does not forget to add unctuously: “He will still have before him the boundless horizon of atonement.” He follows the example of the Spanish Inquisition which, when handing over to civil justice the victim condemned to be burnt at the stake, added a hypocritical request for mercy for the repentant sinner.

Of course, when the interrogation and sentencing of the *maître d’école* is to take place, His Highness is seated in a most comfortable study in a long, deep black dressing-gown, his features impressively pale, and in order to copy the court of justice more faithfully, he is sitting at a long table on which are the exhibits of the case. He must now discard the expression of rage and revenge with which he told Chourineur and the doctor of his plan for blinding the *maître d’école*. He must show himself “calm, sad and composed”, and display the extremely comic, solemn attitude of a self-styled world judge.

In order to leave no doubt as to the “pure” motive of the blinding, the silly *Murph* admits to the envoy Graun:

“The cruel punishment of the *maître d’école* was intended *chiefly* to give me my *vengeance* against the assassin.”

In a *tête-à-tête* with *Murph*, Rudolph says:

“Ma haine des méchants... est devenue plus vivace, mon aversion pour *Sarah* augmente en raison sans doute du chagrin que me cause la mort de ma fille.”^b

Rudolph tells us how much stronger his hatred of the wicked has become. Needless to say, his hatred is a Critical, pure, moral hatred — hatred of the wicked *because* they are wicked. That is why he regards this hatred as his own progress in the good.

^a “‘*Revenge!* ... *Revenge!*’ Rudolph cries out with *cold and concentrated fury*.” — *Ed.*

^b “My hatred of the wicked ... has become stronger, my aversion for *Sarah* increases, doubtless because of the grief caused by the death of my daughter.” — *Ed.*

At the same time, however, he betrays that this growth of moral hatred is nothing but a *hypocritical justification* to excuse the growth of his *personal aversion* for Sarah. The vague moral idea of his increasing hatred of the wicked is only a mask for the definite immoral fact of his increased aversion for Sarah. This aversion has a very natural and a very personal basis, his personal grief, which is also the measure of his aversion. *Sans doute!*^a

Still more repugnant is the hypocrisy to be seen in Rudolph's meeting with the dying Countess MacGregor.

After the revelation of the mystery that Fleur de Marie is the daughter of Rudolph and the Countess, Rudolph goes up to her "*l'air menaçant, impitoyable*".^b She begs for mercy.

"Pas de grâce," he replies, "malédiction sur vous ... vous ... mon mauvais génie et celui de ma race."^c

So it is his "race" that he wishes to avenge. He goes on to inform the Countess how, to atone for his attempted murder of his father, he has taken upon himself a world crusade for the reward of the good and the punishment of the wicked. He tortures the Countess, he abandons himself to his *rage*, but in his *own* eyes he is only carrying out the task which he took upon himself after January 13, of "*poursuivre le mal*".^d

As he is leaving, Sarah cries out:

"Pitié! Je meurs! 'Mourez donc, maudite!' dit Rodolphe effrayant de fureur".^e

The last words "*effrayant de fureur*" betray the pure, Critical and moral motives of his actions. It was the same rage that made him draw his sword against his father, his *blessed* father, as Herr Szeliga calls him. Instead of fighting this evil in himself he fights it, like a pure Critic, in others.

In the end, Rudolph himself discards his Catholic penal theory. He wanted to abolish capital punishment, to change punishment into penance, but only as long as the murderer murdered strangers and spared members of Rudolph's family. He adopts the death penalty as soon as one of his kin is murdered; he needs a double set of laws, one for his own person and one for ordinary persons.

^a Doubtless!—*Ed.*

^b "Looking threatening and pitiless."—*Ed.*

^c "No mercy. A curse on you ... you ... my evil genius and the evil genius of my race."—*Ed.*

^d "Prosecuting evil."—*Ed.*

^e "'Have pity! I am dying!' 'Die then, accursed one!' replies Rudolph, terrible in his rage."—*Ed.*

He learns from Sarah that Jacques Ferrand was the cause of the death of Fleur de Marie. He says to himself:

"No, it is not enough!... What a burning desire for revenge!... What a thirst for blood!... What calm, deliberate rage!... *Until I knew* that *one* of the monster's victims was *my child* I said to myself: this man's death would be fruitless.... Life without money, life without satisfaction of his frenzied sensuality will be a long and double torture.... *But it is my daughter!*... I shall *kill* this man!"

And he rushes out to kill him, but finds him in a state which makes murder superfluous.

The "good" Rudolph! Burning with desire for revenge, thirsting for blood, with calm, deliberate rage, with a hypocrisy which excuses every evil impulse with its casuistry, he has all the *evil* passions for which he gouges out the eyes of others. Only accidental strokes of luck, money and rank in society save this "good" man from the *penitentiary*.

"The *power of Criticism*", to compensate for the otherwise complete nullity of this Don Quixote, makes him "bon locataire", "bon voisin", "bon ami", "bon père", "bon bourgeois", "bon citoyen", "bon prince",^a and so on, according to Herr Szeliga's gamut of eulogy. *That is more than all the results* that "*mankind* in its *entire history*" has achieved. That is enough for *Rudolph* to *save* "the world" twice from "*downfall*"!

^a A "good tenant", a "good neighbour", a "good friend", a "good father", a "good bourgeois", a "good citizen", a "good prince".—*Ed.*

Chapter IX

THE CRITICAL LAST JUDGMENT

Through *Rudolph*, Critical Criticism has twice saved the world from downfall, but only that it may now *itself* decree the *end of the world*.

And I saw and heard a mighty angel, Herr *Hirzel*, flying from Zurich across the heavens. And he had in his hand a little book open like the fifth number of the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*; and he set his right foot upon the Mass and his left foot upon Charlottenburg; and he cried with a loud voice as when a lion roareth, and his words rose like a dove—chirp! chirp!—to the regions of pathos and thunder-like aspects of the *Critical Last Judgment*.

“When, finally, *all* is united against Criticism and—*verily, verily I say unto you*^a—this time is no longer far off—when the whole world in dissolution—to *it it was given to fight against the Holy*—groups around Criticism for the last onslaught; then the courage of Criticism and its significance will have found the greatest recognition. We can have no fear of the outcome. It will all end by our settling accounts with the various groups—and *we shall separate them from one another as the shepherd separateth the sheep from the goats; and we shall set the sheep on our right hand and the goats on our left*—and we shall give a general certificate of poverty to the hostile knights—*they are spirits of the devil, they go out into the breadth of the world and they gather to fight on the great day of God the Almighty—and all who dwell on earth will wonder.*”

And when the angel had cried, seven thunders uttered their voices:

^a The words in italics between dashes are Marx's ironical insertions.—*Ed.*

Dies irae, dies illa
 Solvet saeculum in favilla.
 Judex ergo cum sedebit,
 Quidquid latet, adparebit,
 Nil inultum remanebit.
 Quid sum, miser, tunc dicturus? etc.^a

Ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars. All this must first of all come to pass. For there shall rise false Christs and false prophets, Messieurs *Buchez* and *Roux* from Paris, Herr *Friedrich Rohmer* and *Theodor Rohmer* from Zurich, and they will say: Here is Christ! But then the sign of the *Bauer* brothers will appear in Criticism and the words of the Scripture on *Bauer's work*^b will be accomplished:

Quand les bœufs vont deux à deux
 Le labourage en va mieux!^c

HISTORICAL EPILOGUE

As we learned later, it was not the world, but the Critical *Literatur-Zeitung* that came to an end.

^a That day of wrath
 Will reduce the world to ashes.
 When the judge takes his seat
 All that is hidden will come to light,
 Nothing will remain unpunished.
 What shall I, wretch, say then?—*Ed.*

^b The author says "*Bauernwerk*", which literally means "peasant's work".—*Ed.*

^c With the oxen paired together.
 Ploughing goes much better!

(From a French drinking song.)—*Ed.*

THE NEW MORAL WORLD:

AND
GAZETTE OF THE RATIONAL SOCIETY.

Enrolled under Acts of Parliament, 10 Geo. IV. c. 56, and 4, 5, Wm. IV. c. 66.

"ANY GENERAL CHARACTER, FROM THE BEST TO THE WORST, FROM THE MOST IGNORANT TO THE MOST ENLIGHTENED, MAY BE GIVEN TO ANY COMMUNITY, EVEN TO THE WORLD AT LARGE, BY THE APPLICATION OF PROPER MEANS, WHICH MEANS ARE TO A GREAT EXTENT AT THE COMMAND AND UNDER THE CONTROL OF THOSE WHO HAVE INFLUENCE IN THE AFFAIRS OF MEN."—ROBERT OWEN.

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Frederick Engels

[CONTINENTAL SOCIALISM]⁷²

Continental Socialism seems to deserve and to obtain a considerable portion of public attention at present. I forward you a few extracts from a letter addressed me from Barmen in Prussia, by a former contributor to the *New Moral World*.

"In Paris, on my way home, I visited a Communist Club of the mystic school. I was introduced by a Russian who speaks French and German perfectly,^a and who very cleverly opposed Feuerbach's reasoning,* to them. They mean just as much by the term God as the Ham Common folks⁷³ by *Love-Spirit*. They however declared this a secondary question, and to all practical intents agreed with us, and said, "*enfin, l'athéisme c'est votre religion*":—In the end, atheism is your religion. Religion, in French, means *conviction, feeling*, not worship. They affirmed, that the noise and hubbub of the *Bourgeois*, or middle class, against England, is all nonsense; and they were very anxious to convince us, that they had not the slightest national prejudice, that the working men of France care nothing about Morocco,⁷⁴ but know that the *ouvriers*, workers, of all countries are allies, having the same interests. The French middle class are quite as egotistical, as avaricious, and quite as insupportable in society as the English, but the French *ouvriers* are fine fellows. We have made much progress among the Russians at Paris. There are three or four noblemen and proprietors of serfs now at Paris who are radical Communists and Atheists. We have in Paris a German Communist Paper, the

* The resolution of the God idea into man.— *Note by Engels.*

^a Evidently, by M. A. Bakunin.— *Ed.*

Vorwärts!, published twice-a-week. In Belgium there is an active Communist agitation going on, and a paper, the *Débat Social*, published at Brussels. In Paris there are about half-a-dozen Communist papers. *Socialiste*, *Socialitaire*, are very fashionable names in France; and Louis Philippe, the arch-*bourgeois*, supports the *Démocratie Pacifique* with money and protection. The religious exterior of the French Socialists is mostly hypocritical; the people are thoroughly irreligious, and the first victims of the next revolution will be the parsons. The Cologne folks have made enormous progress. When we assembled in a public house we filled a good room with our company, mostly lawyers, medical men, artists etc., also three or four lieutenants in the artillery, one of whom is a very clever fellow. In Düsseldorf we have a few men, amongst them a very talented poet. In Elberfeld, about half-a-dozen of my friends and some others are Communists. In fact there is scarcely a town in Northern Germany where we have not some radical Anti-Proprietarians and Atheists. Edgar Bauer, of Berlin, has just been sentenced to three years imprisonment for his last book.”^a

Thinking the above facts would be interesting to your readers, I forward them for insertion in your paper.

Written about September 20, 1844

First published in the newspaper

The New Moral World No. 15,

October 5, 1844

Signed: *Anglo-German*

Printed according to the newspaper

^a E. Bauer, *Der Streit der Kritik mit Kirche und Staat*.—Ed.

Frederick Engels

DESCRIPTION OF RECENTLY FOUNDED COMMUNIST COLONIES STILL IN EXISTENCE ⁷⁵

When one talks to people about socialism or communism, one very frequently finds that they entirely agree with one regarding the substance of the matter and declare communism to be a very fine thing; "but", they then say, "it is impossible ever to put such things into practice in real life". One encounters this objection so frequently that it seems to the writer both useful and necessary to reply to it with a few facts which are still very little known in Germany and which completely and utterly dispose of this objection. For communism, social existence and activity based on community of goods, is not only possible but has actually already been realised in many communities in America and in one place in England, with the greatest success, as we shall see.

Incidentally, if one goes into this objection somewhat more deeply, one finds that it is made up of two further objections; these are, firstly: no workers would be prepared to carry out the menial and unpleasant manual tasks; and secondly, with everyone having an equal claim to the communal possessions, people would quarrel about these possessions, and in this way the community would break up again. The first objection is overcome very simply, as follows: these tasks, being now within the community, are no longer menial; and furthermore they can be almost entirely dispensed with by improved facilities, machines and so forth. For instance, in a large hotel in New York, the boots are cleaned by steam, and in the communist colony at Harmony in England (see below) not merely are the water-closets, which are so conveniently

fitted out in the English fashion, cleaned automatically, but they are also provided with pipes which take the waste directly to the great dung-pit.—Regarding the second objection, however, all communist colonies so far have become so enormously rich after ten or fifteen years that they have everything they can desire in greater abundance than they can consume, so that no grounds for dispute exist.

The reader will discover that most of the colonies that will be described in this article had their origins in all kinds of religious sects most of which have quite absurd and irrational views on various issues; the author just wants to point out briefly that these views have nothing whatsoever to do with communism. It is in any case obviously a matter of indifference whether those who prove by their actions the practicability of communal living believe in *one* God, in twenty or in none at all; if they have an irrational religion, this is an obstacle in the way of communal living, and if communal living is successful in real life despite this, how much more feasible must it be with others who are free of such inanities. Of the more recent colonies, almost all are in any case quite free of religious nonsense, and nearly all the English Socialists are despite their great tolerance quite without religion, for which very reason they are particularly ill-spoken of and slandered in sanctimonious England. However, when it comes to providing proof, even their opponents have to admit that there is no foundation for all the evil things that are said of them.

The first people to set up a society on the basis of community of goods in America, indeed in the whole world, were the so-called Shakers. These people are a distinct sect who have the strangest religious beliefs, do not marry and allow no intercourse between the sexes, and these are not their only peculiarities of this kind. But this does not concern us here. The sect of the Shakers originated some seventy years ago. Its founders were poor people who united in order to live together in brotherly love and community of goods and to worship their God in their own way. Although their religious views and particularly the prohibition on marriage deterred many, they nevertheless attracted support and now have *ten large communities*, each of which is between three and eight hundred members strong. Each of these communities is a fine, well laid-out town, with dwelling houses, factories, workshops, assembly buildings and barns; they have flower and vegetable gardens, fruit trees, woods, vineyards, meadows and arable land in abundance; then, livestock of all kinds, horses and beef-cattle, sheep, pigs and poultry, in excess of their needs, and

of the very best breeds. Their granaries are always full of corn, their store-rooms full of clothing materials, so that an English traveller who visited them said he could not understand why these people still worked, when after all they possessed an abundance of everything; unless it was that they worked simply as a pastime, having nothing else to do. Amongst these people no one is obliged to work against his will, and no one seeks work in vain. They have no poor-houses and infirmaries, having not a single person poor and destitute, nor any abandoned widows and orphans; all their needs are met and they need fear no want. In their ten towns there is not a single gendarme or police officer, no judge, lawyer or soldier, no prison or penitentiary; and yet there is proper order in all their affairs. The laws of the land are not for them and as far as they are concerned could just as well be abolished and nobody would notice any difference for they are the most peaceable citizens and *have never yielded a single criminal for the prisons*. They enjoy, as we said, the most absolute community of goods and have no trade and no money among themselves. One of these towns, Pleasant Hill near Lexington in the State of Kentucky, was visited last year by an English traveller named Finch, who gives the following description of it.

“Pleasant Hill consists of a great number of large, handsome hewn stone and brick houses, manufactories, workshops, farm buildings, all in the neatest order, some of the best in Kentucky; the Shaker farm-land was easily known by the fine stone wall fences by which it was enclosed, and by its superior cultivation; a great number of fat cows and sheep were grazing in the fields, and numerous fat swine were picking up fallen fruit in the orchards. The Shakers possess nearly four thousand acres of land here, of which about two-thirds is under cultivation. This colony was commenced by a single family about the year 1806; others joined afterwards and they gradually increased in numbers; some brought a little capital and others none at all. They had many difficulties to contend with, and suffered many privations at the first, being generally very poor persons; but by diligence, economy and temperance, they have overcome all and now have a great abundance of everything and owe nothing to any man. This Society consists at present of about three hundred individuals, out of which some fifty to sixty are children under sixteen years of age. They have no masters — no servants; far less do they have slaves; they are free, wealthy and happy. They have two schools, a Boys' and a Girls' School, in which are taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar and the principles of their religion; they do not teach science to the children as they believe science is not necessary to salvation. As they tolerate no marriages, they would inevitably die out, if new members were not always joining them; but although the prohibition on marriage deters many thousands and many of their best members leave again for that reason, so many new members nevertheless still come that their number constantly increases. They rear livestock and variously cultivate the fields, and themselves produce flax, wool and silk, spinning and weaving them in their own manufactories. What they produce in excess of their needs they sell or exchange amongst their neighbours. They generally labour from sunrise to sunset.

The board of trustees keeps all the books and accounts in a public office, and the books are open for all members to see, as often as they choose. They do not know themselves how wealthy they are, as they never take account of their stock; they are satisfied to know that all they have is their own, for they are in debt to no one. All they do is to make out a list of the debts their neighbours have with them once a year.

"The Church is divided into five families (divisions) of from forty to eighty in each; each family has a separate domestic establishment and lives together in a large, handsome mansion; and *all get every article required, and as much as they want from the common stores of the Society, and without any payment.* A deacon is appointed to each family, whose business is to see that all are provided with every thing they want, and to anticipate their wants as far as possible. They all clothe in Quaker-fashion—plain, clean and neat; they have *a great variety* of articles of food and all of the very *best description.* If a new member seeks admission, he must, according to the laws of the Society, give up every thing he has to the community and is never allowed to claim it back, even if he leaves; nevertheless it is their practice to give back to each as much as he brought in. If a person leaves who has brought in no capital, he is not allowed by the laws to claim any thing for services either, as he has been fed and clothed at general expense whilst he was working; nevertheless it is their custom in this case too to make parting presents to every person if they leave in a kind and proper manner.

"Their government is established in the manner of the first Christians. There is a male and a female minister in each Society, and each has an assistant. These four ministers are the highest power in the whole Society and decide all cases of contention. There are also two elders in each family of the Society, with two assistants and a deacon or administrator. The property of the Society is vested in the board of trustees, which consists of three persons, oversees the whole establishment, directs labour and carries on transactions with neighbours. They have no power to buy or sell any land without the consent of the Society. There are of course also foremen and managers in each department of labour; however they have made it a rule that *no commands are ever given by any one, but all are to be persuaded by kindness.*"^a

Another colony of Shakers, New Lebanon in the State of New York, was visited by a second English traveller, by the name of *Pitkeithly*, in the year 1842. Mr. Pitkeithly most thoroughly inspected the whole town, which numbers some eight hundred inhabitants and owns between seven and eight thousand acres of land, he examined its workshops and factories, its tanneries, saw-mills and so on, and declares the whole arrangement to be *perfect.* He too is surprised at the wealth of these people who began with nothing and are now becoming richer with each passing year, and he says:

"They are happy and gay among themselves; there is no quarrelling but on the contrary friendliness and love prevail throughout their habitation, in every part of which reigns an orderliness and regularity which have not their equal."⁷⁶

So much regarding the Shakers. As we said, they enjoy complete

^a Finch, Letter V, *The New Moral World*, Feb. 10, 1844.—Ed.

community of goods and have ten such communities in the United States of North America.

Apart from the Shakers, however, there are other settlements in America based on community of goods. In particular the *Rappites* are to be mentioned here. *Rapp* is a minister from *Württemberg* who in about 1790 dissociated himself and his congregation from the Lutheran Church and, being persecuted by the government, went to America in 1802. His followers went after him in 1804, and thus he settled in Pennsylvania with about one hundred families. Their combined fortune amounted to about 25,000 dollars, and with this they bought land and tools. Their land was uncultivated virgin forest and cost them their total fortune; however they only paid for it in stages. They now joined together in community of goods [*Gütergemeinschaft*], and made the following agreement:

1) Each member surrenders all his possessions to the community, without gaining any privileges from this. All are equal within the community.

2) The laws and regulations of the society are equally binding on all.

3) Each member works only for the benefit of the whole society and not each for himself alone.

4) Whoever leaves the society has no claim to compensation for his work, but is given back everything he put in; and those who have put nothing in and depart in peace and friendship receive a parting gratuity.

5) In exchange the community undertakes to provide each member and his family with the necessities of life and the necessary care in sickness and old age, and if the parents die or withdraw, leaving their children behind, the community will bring up these children.

In the first years of their communal life, when they had to put a wilderness under the plough and also pay off some 7,000 dollars of the purchase price of the land each year, times were naturally hard for them. Several of the more wealthy were deterred by this, withdrew and took out their money, which much aggravated the colonists' troubles. But most held out faithfully and in this way had paid off all their debts in 1810, within just five years. In 1815 for various reasons they sold up their whole colony and once more bought twenty thousand acres of virgin forest in the State of Indiana. Here they built the fine town of *New Harmony* after a few years and put most of the land under the plough, established vineyards and corn-fields, built a wool- and cotton-mill, and

became richer with each passing day. In 1825 they sold up their whole colony to Mr. Robert Owen for twice one hundred thousand dollars and set off for the third time into the virgin forest. This time they settled by the great river Ohio and built the town of *Economy*, which is larger and more handsome than any in which they had previously lived. In 1831 Count Leon came to America with a company of some thirty Germans to join them. They received these new arrivals gladly, but the Count stirred up some of the members against Rapp, and for this reason it was decided at a meeting of the whole community that Leon and his followers should leave. Those remaining behind paid those who were dissatisfied more than *one hundred and twenty thousand dollars*, and with this money Leon founded a second colony, which failed, however, on account of mismanagement; its members dispersed and *Count Leon* died shortly afterwards as a *tramp* in Texas. *Rapp's* settlement, on the other hand, has flourished to the present day. The above-mentioned traveller Finch reports about its present circumstances:

"The town of *Economy* consists of three long wide streets and five equally broad streets that cross these three at right angles; it has a church, a public hotel, a woollen factory, a cotton factory, and a silk-mill, a cocoonery for rearing silkworms, public stores for selling to strangers and for the supply of the members, a museum of natural curiosities, workshops for the various trades, agricultural buildings and large, handsome houses for the various families, with a large garden by each house. The farm-land belonging to it is about six miles in length and about one mile wide, contains large vineyards, an orchard of thirty-seven acres, and grain and pasture lands. The number of members is about four hundred and fifty, all well clothed, well fed and splendidly lodged, cheerful, happy, and moral people who for many years have not known want.

"For a time marriage was greatly discouraged among them too, but they now marry and have families and are very desirous of increasing the number of members if proper persons would present themselves. Their religion is the New Testament, but *they have no special creed and do not interfere with the opinions of the members*, so long as they let the others be and abstain from sowing dissension on matters of faith. They call themselves *Harmonists*. They have no paid priests; Mr. Rapp, who is above eighty years of age, acts both as priest and governor. They like to make music and occasionally have concerts and music-meetings in the evenings. They commenced their harvest the day before my arrival with a grand concert in the fields. In their schools they teach reading, writing, arithmetic and grammar; but, like the Shakers, they do not teach any of the sciences. They labour much longer than they need, from sunrise till sunset all the year; all labour and those who cannot work in the factories in winter find employment with threshing and feeding cattle, etc. They have 75 milking cows, large flocks of sheep, and great numbers of horses, hogs and poultry, and from what they have saved, they have lent large sums to businessmen and bankers; through bankruptcies they have lost a great deal that they lent, but they have still a great amount of *useless money* which is constantly increasing.

"Their endeavour was always to make themselves every article they required so

that they should need to buy from others as little as they could and eventually made more than they needed; later they acquired a flock of 100 merino sheep to improve the strain of their sheep, paying fifteen thousand dollars for them. They were among the first in establishing the woollen manufacture in America. Then they began to plant the vine, grow flax, erect a cotton factory and rear silkworms for manufacture. However in all things they first take care to abundantly supply their own wants before they sell anything.

"They live in families of from twenty to forty individuals, each of which has a separate house and domestic establishment. The family gets its supplies as much as it requires from the common stores. *They have an abundance for all and they get as much as they wish without charge.* When they need clothing, they apply to the head tailor, the head seamstress or shoemaker and are furnished with it made to their taste. Flesh meat and the other foods are divided among the families according to the number of individuals in each, and they have everything *in abundance and plenitude.*"^a

Another settlement enjoying community of goods was established at *Zoar* in the State of Ohio. These people are also *Separatists from Württemberg* who detached themselves from the Lutheran Church at the same time as Rapp and, after being persecuted for ten years by it and by the government, likewise emigrated. They were very poor and were only able to reach their destination with the support of philanthropic Quakers in London and America. Led by their minister, *Bäumler*, they arrived in Philadelphia in the autumn of 1817 and bought from a Quaker the land which they still own today and which is seven thousand acres in area. The purchase price, which amounted to some six thousand dollars, was to be paid off gradually. When they arrived at the site and counted their money, they found that they had just six dollars per person. That was all; not a penny of the purchase price of the land had yet been paid, and out of these few dollars they had to buy seed-corn, farm-tools and provisions until the next harvest. They were confronted with a forest with a few log cabins, and this they had to put under the plough; but they set to work with a will, soon had their fields ready for ploughing and in the very next year built a corn-mill. *Initially they divided their land into fairly small pieces*, each of which was farmed by one family on its own account and as its *private property*. *But they soon saw that this would not do*, because since each one was only working *for himself*, they could not clear the forest fast enough and put it under the plough, they could give each other no *proper assistance* at all, and in this way many got into debt and *were in danger of becoming quite impoverished*. After a year and a half therefore, in April 1819, *they joined together in community of goods*, worked out a constitution and unanimously chose

^a Finch, Letters VI and VII. *The New Moral World*, Feb. 17 and Feb. 24, 1844.—Ed.

their minister, Bäumler, as Director. They then paid all the members' debts, were allowed two years extension on the purchase price of the land and worked with redoubled enthusiasm and united efforts. With this new arrangement they did so well that they had paid off the whole purchase price of their land together with the interest four whole years before the appointed time, and how they are faring in other respects, the following description of two eyewitnesses will show:

An American businessman who comes to Zoar very frequently portrays the place as a perfect model of cleanliness, order and beauty, with a splendid inn, a mansion for the aged Bäumler to live in, a fine public garden of two acres, with a large greenhouse, and fine, well-built houses and gardens. He portrays the people as very happy and contented, industrious and respectable. His description was published in the Pittsburg (Ohio) newspaper (*Pittsburg Daily Advocate and Advertiser*, July 17th 1843).^a

Finch, whom we have mentioned several times, declares this settlement to be the most perfectly organised of all those living in community of goods in America. He gives a long list of their wealth, and says that they have a flax-spinning mill and a woollen-mill, a tannery, iron-foundries, two corn-mills, two sawmills, two threshing-machines and a host of workshops for every conceivable trade. He also says that their arable land is better farmed than anything else he had seen in America. The *Pfennig Magazin* estimates the Separatists' property at between one hundred and seventy and one hundred and eighty thousand dollars, all of which has been earned in twenty-five years, since they began with nothing at all except six dollars a head. There are about two hundred of them. They too had prohibited marriages for a time, but like the Rappites they have gone back on that and now they do marry.

Finch reproduces the Constitution of these Separatists, which consists principally in the following:

All the Society's officers are elected, in fact by all its members who are above twenty-one years of age, from amongst their own number. These officers comprise:

1) *Three managers*, one of whom is re-elected each year, and who may be dismissed by the Society at any time. They administer all the property of the Society and provide the members with the necessities of life, dwelling, clothing and food, as well as circumstances permit

^a Here and below in the description of the Separatists' colony, use is made of *Finch*, Letters VIII and IX. *The New Moral World*. March 2 and 9, 1844.—Ed.

and without favour for anyone. They appoint assistant managers for the different kinds of work, settle small disputes and may, jointly with the Council of the Society, promulgate new regulations, which, however, must never conflict with the Constitution.

2) The *Director*, who remains in office as long as he enjoys the confidence of the Society and manages all business as chief officer. He has the right to buy and sell, and to conclude contracts, but in all matters of importance he can only act with the consent of the three managers.

3) The *Council of the Society*, which consists of five members, one of whom resigns each year, and which enjoys the highest power in the Society, promulgates laws with the Managers and the Director, supervises the other officers and settles disputes when the parties are not satisfied with the Managers' decision; and

4) The *Paymaster*, who is elected for four years and who alone of all the members and officers has the right to have *money* in his keeping.

Besides this, the Constitution decrees that an educational establishment shall be set up, that all members shall surrender all their possessions to the community for ever and can never demand them back, that new members may only be accepted after they have lived with the Society for a year and if all the members vote for them, and the Constitution can only be altered if two-thirds of the members are in favour.

These descriptions could easily be much expanded, for almost all the travellers who go into the American interior visit one or other of the above-mentioned colonies, and *almost all accounts of these journeys* describe them. But *not even a single one* has been able to report any ill of these people, on the contrary, they all have only praise for them and the most they can find to criticise are the religious prejudices, especially of the Shakers, which, however, clearly have nothing to do with the ideal of community of goods. I could thus also quote the works of Miss Martineau, Messrs. Melish and Buckingham and many others; but as sufficient has been said above and these people anyway all tell the same tale, this is not necessary.

The success enjoyed by the Shakers, Harmonists and Separatists, and also the general urge for a new order in human society and the efforts of the Socialists and Communists that this has given rise to, have caused many other people in America to undertake similar experiments in recent years. Thus Herr *Ginal*, a *German minister* in Philadelphia, has founded a society which has bought 37,000 acres of forest in the State of Philadelphia, built more than 80 houses there and already settled some five hundred people, *mostly Germans*, there.

They have a large tannery and pottery, many workshops and storehouses, and they are really thriving. It goes without saying that they live in *community of goods*, as is the case with all the following examples. A Mr. *Hizby*, an ironmaster of Pittsburg (Ohio) has set up in his native town a similar society which last year bought some 4,000 acres of land in the vicinity of the town and is planning to establish a settlement there based on community of goods.— In addition there is a similar settlement in the State of New York at *Skaneateles* which was founded by *J. A. Collins*, an English Socialist, in the spring of 1843^a with thirty members; then at *Minden* in the State of Massachusetts, where about a hundred people have been settled since 1842; then *two* in *Pike County* in the State of Pennsylvania, which were also recently set up; then one at *Brook Farm*, Massachusetts, where fifty members and thirty pupils live on about two hundred acres and have set up an excellent school under the leadership of the Unitarian⁷⁷ minister *G. Ripley*; and then one at Northampton, in the same State, which has been in existence since 1842 and provides work for one hundred and twenty members on five hundred acres of land, in arable and livestock farming as well as in sawmills, silk-mills and dyeing, and finally a colony of emigrant English Socialists at *Equality* near *Milwaukee* in the State of *Wisconsin*, which was started last year by *Thomas Hunt* and is making rapid progress. Apart from these, several other communities are said to have been founded recently, but there is as yet no news of them.— This much is however certain: the Americans, and particularly the poor workers in the large towns of New York, Philadelphia, Boston, etc., have taken the matter to their hearts and founded a large number of societies for the establishment of such colonies, and all the time new communities are being set up. The Americans are tired of continuing as the slaves of the few rich men who feed on the labour of the people; and it is obvious that with the great energy and endurance of this nation, community of goods will soon be introduced over a significant part of their country.

However, it is not just in America but in England too that attempts have been made to realise community of goods. Here the philanthropist *Robert Owen* has been preaching this ideal for thirty years, he has sunk the whole of his large fortune in it and given everything he had in order to found the present colony at *Harmony* in *Hampshire*. After he had founded a society with this aim, the latter bought up an estate of 1,200 acres and established a

^a In the original: 1813 (probably a misprint).— *Ed.*

community there based on Owen's suggestions. It now numbers over one hundred members, who all live together in a large building and have been mainly engaged so far in arable farming. As it was to be set up from the start as a perfect model for the new order of society, considerable capital was required for this, and up to now some two hundred thousand talers have already been put into it. Some of this money was borrowed and had to be paid back from time to time, with the result that many difficulties ensued from this, and for lack of money many of the installations could not be completed and made profitable. And as the members of the community were not the sole owners of the establishment, but were governed by the Directors of the Society of Socialists, to whom the establishment belongs, misunderstandings and dissatisfaction arose at intervals from this too. But despite all this, the matter is proceeding on its course, the members get on exceedingly well with each other, as every visitor testifies, help each other on, and for all the difficulties, the existence of the establishment is nevertheless now secured. The main thing is that all the difficulties arise not from within the community but from the fact that the community has not yet been fully realised. For if it were, the members would not have to use all their earnings to pay off interest and borrowed money but could use them to finish equipping the establishment and run it better; and then they would elect their managers themselves as well and not be always dependent on the Directors of the Society.

The following description of the establishment itself is given by a practising economist who has travelled the length and breadth of England to acquaint himself with the state of agriculture and report on it to the London newspaper *Morning Chronicle*, signing as "One who has whistled at the Plough"^a (*Morning Chronicle*, Dec. 13th, 1842).

After passing through a very poorly cultivated district, where more weeds than corn were growing, in a nearby village he heard speak for the first time in his life of the Socialists at Harmony. A prosperous man there told him that they were farming a large estate, and doing it very well too, that all the lying rumours spread about them were untrue, that it would be very much to the credit of the parish if but half of its inhabitants would conduct themselves with as much propriety as these Socialists and that it would be equally desirable that the big landowners of the

^a Pseudonym of Alexander Somerville.—*Ed.*

neighbourhood would give the poor as much and as beneficial employment as these people. They had their own views on property, but for all that they conducted themselves very well and set the whole neighbourhood a good example. He added: Their religious opinions vary: some go to this and others to that church, and they never speak about religion or politics with the people of the village. Two of them replied to my inquiries that there was no specific religious opinion among them and each man could believe what he wished. We were all very disturbed when we heard they were coming here; but now we find that they are very good neighbours, set our people a good example of morality, employ many of our poor, and as they never try to impose their opinions on us, we have no cause to be dissatisfied with them. They are all distinguished by respectable and well-bred behaviour, and no one here in the neighbourhood would dare criticise their moral conduct.

Our reporter heard the same from others too, and then went to Harmony. After once more passing through poorly cultivated fields, he came across a very well farmed turnip field with an abundant, fine crop, and said to his friend, a local tenant-farmer: If those are socialist turnips, they promise well. Shortly after, he encountered seven hundred socialist sheep, which were likewise in splendid condition, and then came to the large, handsome and solid dwelling-house. However, everything was still unfinished, bricks and timber, half-completed walls and the ground undug. They entered, were received in a courteous and friendly manner, and shown round the building. On the ground-floor there was a large dining-hall and the kitchen, from which the full dishes were taken by a machine to the dining-hall and the empty ones back to the kitchen. Some children showed the strangers this machine, and they were noticeable for clean, neat clothing, healthy appearance and proper behaviour. The women in the kitchen likewise looked very tidy and decent, and the visitor was most surprised that amid all the unwashed dishes—the midday meal was just over—they could still look so smart and clean. The fittings in the kitchen itself were finer than words could describe, and the London master-builder who had made it declared that even in London very few kitchens were so perfectly and expensively fitted, a remark with which our visitor concurs. Next to the kitchen were convenient washhouses, baths, cellars, and separate rooms where each member could wash on returning from work.

On the next floor was a large ball-room and above that the bedrooms, all very comfortably furnished.

The garden, twenty-seven acres in extent, was in perfect condition, and in general there was great activity to be observed on every side. Bricks were being made, lime burnt, builders were at work and roads were being laid down; a hundred acres of wheat had already been sown, and still more land was to be put under wheat; a pond to take liquid manure was being dug, and from the copse situated on the estate, humus was being gathered for spreading as fertiliser; in short, everything was done to increase the fertility of the soil.

Our visitor concludes:

"I believe their land to be well worth £3" (twenty-one talers) "per acre of rent, and they only pay 15s." (five talers). "They have an excellent bargain, if they manage it well; and whatever may be said of their social crotchets, it must be said of them that their style of farming is of a superior kind."

Let us add to this description something about the domestic arrangements of this community. The members live together in a large house, each with a separate bedroom, which is most comfortably furnished; the housekeeping is done for all of them together by some of the women, and this of course saves a great deal of expense, time and trouble, which would be wasted with a large number of small homes, and allows for many comforts which are quite impossible in small households. For example, the kitchen fire heats all the rooms in the building simultaneously with warm air, and there are pipes taking warm and cold water to each room, and other such agreeable and practical features which are only possible in a communal institution. The children are sent to the school which is connected with the establishment and educated there at communal expense. The parents can see them when they wish and the education is designed both for physical and intellectual development and for life in the community. The children are not tormented with religious and theological controversies, nor with Greek and Latin; instead they become the better acquainted with nature, their own bodies and their intellectual capacities, and in the fields they relax from the small amount of sitting that is expected of them; for the classes are held as often in the open air as in enclosed rooms, and work is part of their education. Their moral education is restricted to the application of the one principle: Do not do to others what you would not have them do to you, in other words, the practice of complete equality and brotherly love.

As we said, the colony is under the management of the President and Directors of the Society of Socialists; these directors are chosen annually by the congress, to which each local Society

sends a member, and they have full, unrestricted powers within the Statutes of the Society, and are responsible to the congress. The community is thus governed by people who live outside it, and in these circumstances there cannot fail to be misunderstandings and irritations; but even if the experiment at Harmony were to fail in consequence of this and of financial problems, which however is not in the slightest degree in prospect, this would only be one further argument for community of goods, as these two difficulties have their cause only in the fact that the community has not yet been fully realised. But despite all this the existence of the colony is assured, and even if it cannot progress and reach completion very rapidly, at least the opponents of the community will not enjoy the triumph of seeing it collapse.

We see then that community of goods is by no means an impossibility but that on the contrary all these experiments have been entirely successful. We also see that the people who are living communally live better with less work, have more leisure for the development of their minds, and that they are better, more moral people than their neighbours who have retained private property. And all this has already been acknowledged by the Americans, British, French and Belgians and by a large number of Germans. In every country there are a number of people who are busy spreading the ideal and have already taken up the communal cause.

If this question is important for everyone, it is most particularly so for the poor workers who own nothing, who tomorrow consume the wage they earn today and may at any time become destitute through unforeseen and unavoidable contingencies. To them it offers the prospect of an independent, secure existence without anxiety, of complete equality of rights with those who can now through their wealth turn the worker into their slave. These workers are the ones to whom the question matters most. In other countries the workers form the core of the party which is demanding community of goods, and it is the duty of the German workers also to take the question seriously to their hearts.

If the workers are united among themselves, hold together and pursue *one* purpose, they are infinitely stronger than the rich. And if, moreover, they have set their sights upon such a rational purpose, and one which desires the best for all mankind, as community of goods, it is self-evident that the better and more intelligent among the rich will declare themselves in agreement with the workers and

support them. And there are already many prosperous and educated people in all parts of Germany who have openly declared for community of goods and defend the people's claims to the good things of this earth which have been appropriated by the wealthy class.

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Published in English for the first time

Frederick Engels

RAPID PROGRESS OF COMMUNISM IN GERMANY⁷⁸

I

[*The New Moral World* No. 25, December 13, 1844]

Hoping, as I do, that your countrymen will be glad to hear something on the progress of our common cause on this side of the channel, I send you a few lines for your paper.^a At the same time, I rejoice in being able to show that the German people, though, as usual, rather late in mootng the question of Social Reform, are now exerting themselves to make up for lost time. Indeed, the rapidity with which Socialism has progressed in this country is quite miraculous. Two years ago, there were but two solitary individuals who cared at all about Social questions; a year ago, the first Socialist publication was printed.^b It is true, there were some hundreds of German Communists in foreign countries; but being working men, they had little influence, and could not get their publications circulated among the "upper classes". Besides, the obstacles in the way of Socialism were enormous; the censorship of the press, no right of public meeting, no right of association, and despotic laws and secret courts of law, with paid judges to punish every one who in any way dared to set the people about thinking. And notwithstanding all this, what is the state of things in Germany now? Instead of the two poor devils who wrote about Socialism to a public no ways acquainted with, or interested in the question, we have dozens of clever writers preaching the new gospel to thousands who are anxious to hear everything connected with the subject; we have several papers as radically Socialist as the censorship will allow, principally the *Trier'sche Zeitung* (Gazette of Trier), and the *Sprecher* (Speaker) of

^a *The New Moral World*.—Ed.

^b *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*.—Ed.

Wesel; we have a paper published under the free press of Paris,^a and there is no periodical, save those under the immediate influence of the governments, but comments every day, and in very creditable terms, upon Socialism and the Socialists. Our very opponents want the moral courage to speak their full minds against us. Even the governments are obliged to favour all *legal* movements in the direction towards Socialism. Societies are forming everywhere for ameliorating the condition of the working people, as well as for giving them the means to cultivate their minds, and some of the highest officers of the Prussian Government have taken an active part in those associations. In short, Socialism is the question of the day in Germany, and in the space of a year, a strong Socialist party has grown up, which already now commands the respect of all political parties, and is principally courted by the liberals of this country. Up to the present time our stronghold is the middle class, a fact which will perhaps astonish the English reader, if he do not know that this class in Germany is far more disinterested, impartial, and intelligent, than in England, and for the very simple reason, because it is poorer. We, however, hope to be in a short time supported by the working classes, who always, and everywhere, must form the strength and body of the Socialist party, and who have been aroused from their lethargy by misery, oppression, and want of employment, as well as by the manufacturing riots in Silesia and Bohemia.⁷⁹ Let me on this occasion mention a painting by one of the best German painters, Hübner, which has made a more effectual Socialist agitation than a hundred pamphlets might have done. It represents some Silesian weavers bringing linen cloth to the manufacturer, and contrasts very strikingly cold-hearted wealth on one side, and despairing poverty on the other. The well-fed manufacturer is represented with a face as red and unfeeling as brass, rejecting a piece of cloth which belongs to a woman; the woman, seeing no chance of selling the cloth, is sinking down and fainting, surrounded by her two little children, and hardly kept up by an old man; a clerk is looking over a piece, the owners of which are with painful anxiety waiting for the result; a young man shows to his desponding mother the scanty wages he has received for his labour; an old man, a girl, and a boy, are sitting on a stone bench, and waiting for their turn; and two men, each with a piece of rejected cloth on his back, are just leaving the room, one of whom is clenching his fist in rage, whilst the other, putting his hand on

^a *Vorwärts!*—Ed.

his neighbour's arm, points up towards heaven, as if saying: be quiet, there is a judge to punish him. This whole scene is going on in a cold and unhomey-looking lobby, with a stone floor: only the manufacturer stands upon a piece of carpeting; whilst on the other side of the painting, behind a bar, a view is opened into a luxuriously furnished counting-house, with splendid curtains and looking-glasses, where some clerks are writing, undisturbed by what is passing behind them, and where the manufacturer's son, a young, dandy-like gentleman, is leaning over the bar, with a horsewhip in his hand, smoking a cigar, and coolly looking at the distressed weavers. The painting has been exhibited in several towns of Germany, and, of course, prepared a good many minds for Social ideas. At the same time, we have had the triumph of seeing the first historical painter of this country, Charles Lessing, become a convert to Socialism. In fact, Socialism occupies at this moment already a ten times prouder position in Germany than it does in England. This very morning, I read an article in a liberal paper, the *Cologne Journal*,^a the author of which had for some reasons been attacked by the Socialists, and in which article he gives his defence⁸⁰; and to what amounts it? He professes himself a Socialist, with the only difference that he wants political reforms to begin with, whilst we want to get all at once. And this *Cologne Journal* is the second newspaper of Germany in influence and circulation. It is curious, but, at least in the north of Germany, you cannot go on board a steamer, or into a railway-carriage, or mail-coach, without meeting somebody who has imbibed at least some Social idea, and who agrees with you, that something must be done to reorganise society. I am just returning from a trip to some neighbouring towns, and there was not a single place where I did not find at least half-a-dozen or a dozen of out-and-out Socialists. Among my own family—and it is a very pious and loyal one—I count six or more, each of which has been converted without being influenced by the remainder. We have partisans among all sorts of men—commercial men, manufacturers, lawyers, officers of the government and of the army, physicians, editors of newspapers, farmers, etc., a great many of our publications are in the press, though hardly three or four have as yet appeared; and if we make as much progress during the next four or five years as we have done in the past twelve months, we shall be able to erect forthwith a Community. You see, we German theorists are getting practical men of business. In fact, one of our

^a *Kölnische Zeitung*.—Ed.

number has been invited to draw up a plan of organisation and regulations for a practical Community, with reference to the plans of Owen, Fourier, etc., and profiting of the experience gained by the American Communities and your own experiment at Harmony,^a which I hope goes on prosperously. This plan will be discussed by the various localities and printed with the amendments. The most active literary characters among the German Socialists are:—Dr. Charles Marx, at Paris; Dr. M. Hess, at present at Cologne; Dr. Ch. Grün, at Paris; Frederick Engels, at Barmen (Rhenan Prussia); Dr. O. Lüning, Rheda, Westphalia; Dr. H. Püttmann, Cologne; and several others. Besides those, Henry Heine, the most eminent of all living German poets, has joined our ranks, and published a volume of political poetry, which contains also some pieces preaching Socialism. He is the author of the celebrated *Song of the Silesian Weavers*, of which I give you a prosaic translation, but which, I am afraid, will be considered blasphemy in England. At any rate, I will give it you, and only remark, that it refers to the battle-cry of the Prussians in 1813:—“With God for King and fatherland!” which has been ever since a favourite saying of the loyal party. But for the song, here it is⁸¹:—

Without a tear in their grim eyes,
 They sit at the loom, the rage of despair in their faces;
 “We have suffered and hunger’d long enough;
 Old Germany, we are weaving a shroud for thee
 And weaving it with a triple curse.
 “We are weaving, weaving!”

“The first curse to the God, the blind and deaf god
 Upon whom we relied, as children on their father;
 In whom we hoped and trusted withal,
 He has mocked us, he has cheated us nevertheless.
 “We are weaving, weaving!”

“The second curse for the King of the rich,
 Whom our distress could not soften nor touch;
 The King, who extorts the last penny from us,
 And sends his soldiers, to shoot us like dogs.
 “We are weaving, weaving!”

“A curse to the false fatherland,
 That has nothing for us but distress and shame,
 Where we suffered hunger and misery—
 We are weaving thy shroud, Old Germany!
 “We are weaving, weaving!”

^a See pp. 223-27 of this volume.—*Ed.*

With this song, which in its German original is one of the most powerful poems I know of, I take leave from you for this time, hoping soon to be able to report on our further progress and social literature.

Yours sincerely,

An old friend of yours in Germany

[*The New Moral World* No. 37, March 8, 1845]

Barmen, Feb. 2nd, 1845⁸²

Since I last addressed you, the cause of Communism has been making the same rapid progress as during the latter part of the year 1844. A short time ago I visited several towns on the Rhine, and everywhere I found that our ideas had gained, and were daily gaining more vantage ground than when I last left those places. Everywhere I found fresh proselytes, displaying as much energy in discussing and spreading the idea of Communism as could possibly be desired. A great many public meetings have been held in all the towns of Prussia, for the purpose of forming associations to counteract the growing pauperism, ignorance and crime among the great mass of the population.⁸³ These meetings, at first supported, but when becoming too independent, checked by the Government, have, nevertheless, forced the Social question upon the public attention, and have done a great deal towards the dissemination of our principles. The meeting at Cologne was struck so much by the speeches of the leading Communists, that a committee for drawing up the rules of the association was elected, the majority of which consisted of thorough Communists. The abstract of rules was, of course, founded upon Communist principles; organisation of labour, protection of labour against the power of capital, &c., and those rules were adopted almost unanimously by the meeting. Of course the sanction of Government, which is necessary in this country for all associations, has been refused; but since those meetings have been held, the question of communities has been discussed everywhere through-

out Cologne. At Elberfeld, it was pronounced as the fundamental principle of the association, *that all men had an equal right to education, and ought to participate in the fruits of science.* The rules of the association, however, have not yet been confirmed by the Government, and in all probability they will share in the lot of the Cologne rules, as the parsons got up an association of their own as soon as their plan, to make the Society a branch of the town mission, had been rejected by the meeting. The liberal association will be prohibited, and the parsons' association will be supported by Government. This, however, is of the little importance as the question having been mooted once, is now generally discussed throughout the town. Other associations have been formed at Munster, Cleve, Düsseldorf, etc., and it remains to be seen what the results will be. As to Communist literature, a collection of papers relating to this subject has been published by H. Püttmann, of Cologne, containing among the rest, an account of the American communities, as well as of your own Hampshire Establishment, which has done very much towards annihilating the prejudice of the impracticability of our ideas.⁸⁴ Mr. Püttmann, at the same time, has issued the prospectus of a quarterly review,⁸⁵ the first number of which he intends issuing in May next, and which will be exclusively dedicated to the promulgation of our ideas. Another monthly periodical⁸⁶ will be commenced by Messrs. Hess of Cologne, and Engels of Barmen, the first number to be published on the first of April next; this periodical will contain *facts* only, showing the state of civilised society, and preaching the necessity of a radical reform by the eloquence of facts. A new work by Dr. Marx, containing a review of the principles of Political Economy, and politics in general, will be published shortly. Dr. Marx himself has been forced by the French Conservative Government, to quit his abode at Paris.⁸⁷ He intends to go to Belgium, and if the vengeance of the Prussian Government (which has induced the French Ministers to expel Marx) follows him even there, he must go to England. But the most important fact which has come to my knowledge since my last, is, that Dr. Feuerbach, the most eminent philosophical genius in Germany at the present time, has declared himself a Communist. A friend of ours lately visited him in his retired country seat, in a remote corner of Bavaria, and to him he declared his full conviction that Communism was only a necessary consequence of the principles he had proclaimed, and that Communism was, in fact, only the *practice* of what he had proclaimed long before theoretically. Feuerbach said, he had never been delighted so much with any other book, as with

the first part of Weitling's *Guarantees*.^a I never dedicated, he said, a book to anybody, but I feel much inclined to dedicate to Weitling my next work. Thus the union between the German philosophers, of whom Feuerbach is the most eminent representative, and the German working men represented by Weitling, an union which, a year ago, had been predicted by Dr. Marx,^b is all but accomplished. With the philosophers to think, and the working men to fight for us, will any earthly power be strong enough to resist our progress?

An old friend of yours in Germany

^a W. Weitling, *Garantien der Harmonie und Freiheit*.—Ed.

^b K. Marx, *Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law. Introduction* (see present edition, Vol. 3, pp. 175-87).—Ed.

III

[*The New Moral World* No. 46, May 10, 1845]

Dear sir,

Having been unable, for a time, from certain causes, to write you on the state of affairs in Germany, I now continue my reports, hoping that they will interest your readers, and follow each other more uninterruptedly than heretofore. I am glad of being enabled to tell you that we are making the same rapid and steady progress which we made up to my last report. Since I wrote to you last, the Prussian Government have found it unsafe to continue their support to the "Associations for the Benefit of the Working Classes". They have found that everywhere these associations became infected with something like Communism, and therefore they have done everything in their power to suppress, or at least obstruct, the progress of these associations. On the other hand, the majorities of the members of those societies, being composed of middle-class men, were totally at a loss with regard to the steps they might take to benefit the working people. All their measures—savings-banks, premiums and prizes for the best workers, and such like,—were instantly proved by the Communists to be good for nothing, and held up to public laughter. Thus the intention of the middle classes, to dupe the working classes, by hypocrisy and sham philanthropy, has been totally frustrated; while to us it gave an opportunity which is rather rare in a country of patriarchal police government: thus the trouble of the matter has been with the Government and the moneyed men, while we have had all the profit.

But not only these meetings were taken profit of for Communist agitation: at Elberfeld, the centre of the manufacturing district of

Rhenan Prussia, regular Communist meetings were held. The Communists of this town were invited by some of the most respectable citizens to discuss their principles with them. The first of these meetings took place in February, and was more of a private character. About forty or fifty individuals assisted, including the attorney-general of the district, and other members of the courts of law, as well as representatives of almost all the leading commercial and manufacturing firms. Dr. Hess, whose name I have had more than once an opportunity of mentioning in your columns, opened the proceedings by proposing Mr. Koettgen, a Communist, as chairman, to which no opposition was made. Dr. Hess then read a lecture on the present state of society, and the necessity of abandoning the old system of competition, which he called a system of downright robbery. The lecture was received with much applause (the majority of the audience being Communists); after which Mr. Frederick Engels (who some time ago had some papers on Continental Communism^a printed in your columns) spoke at some length on the practicability and the advantages of the Community system.^b He also gave some particulars of the American colonies and your own establishment at Harmony in proof of his assertions. After which a very animated discussion took place, in which the Communist side was advocated by the foregoing speakers and several others; while the opposition was maintained by the attorney-general, by Dr. Benedix, a literary character, and some others. The proceedings, which commenced about nine o'clock in the evening, were continued until one in the morning.

The second meeting took place a week after, in the large room of the first hotel in the town. The room was filled with the "respectables" of the place. Mr. Koettgen, chairman of the former meeting, read some remarks on the future state and prospects of society, as imagined by the Communists, after which Mr. Engels delivered a speech^c in which he proved (as may be concluded from the fact, that not a word was offered in reply), that the present state of Germany was such as could not but produce in a very short time a social revolution; that this imminent revolution was not to be averted by any possible measures for promoting commerce and manufacturing industry; and that the only means

^a F. Engels, *Progress of Social Reform on the Continent* (see present edition, Vol. 3, pp. 392-408).—*Ed.*

^b See pp. 243-55 of this volume.—*Ed.*

^c See pp. 256-64 of this volume.—*Ed.*

to prevent such a revolution—a revolution more terrible than any of the mere subversions of past history—was the introduction of, and the preparation for, the Community system. The discussion, in which some gentlemen of the profession of the bar, who had come from Cologne and Düsseldorf for the purpose, took part on the Communist side, was again very animated, and prolonged till after midnight. Some Communist poems, by Dr. Müller of Düsseldorf, who was present, were also read.

A week afterwards a third meeting took place in which Dr. Hess again lectured, and besides, some particulars about the American communities were read from a printed paper.^a The discussion was repeated before the close of the meeting.

Some days afterwards a rumour was spread through the town that the next meeting was to be dispersed by the police, and the speakers to be arrested. The mayor of Elberfeld, indeed, went to the hotel-keeper, and threatened to withdraw the licence, if any such meetings in future should be allowed to take place in his house. The Communists instantly communicated with the mayor about the matter, and received, the day before the next meeting, a circular directed to Messrs. Hess, Engels and Koettgen, by which the provincial Government, with a tremendous amount of quotations from ancient and written laws, declared such meetings to be illegal, and threatened to put a stop to them by force, if they should not be abandoned. The meeting took place next Saturday,^b the mayor and the attorney-general (who after the first meeting had absented himself) were present, supported by a troop of armed police, who had been sent by railroad from Düsseldorf. Of course, under such circumstances, no public addresses were delivered: the meeting occupied themselves with beef-steaks and wine, and gave the police no handle for interference.

These measures, however, could not but serve our cause: those who had not yet heard of the matter were now induced to ask for information about it from the importance ascribed to it by the Government; and a great many of those who had come to the discussion ignorant or scoffing at our proposals, went home with a greater respect for Communism. This respect was also partially produced by the respectable manner in which our party was represented; nearly every patrician and moneyed family of the town had one of its members or relatives present at the large table occupied by the Communists. In short the effect produced by these meetings upon the public mind of the whole manufacturing

^a See pp. 214-28 of this volume.—*Ed.*

^b March 1, 1845.—*Ed.*

district was truly wonderful; and in a few days afterwards those who had publicly advocated our cause were overrun by numbers of people who asked for books and papers from which they might get a view of the whole system. We understand that the whole proceedings will shortly be published.

As to Communist literature, there has been exhibited a great activity in this branch of agitation. The public literally long for information: they devour every book published in this line. Dr. Püttmann has published a collection of essays,^a containing an excellent paper by Dr. Hess, on the distress of modern society, and the means of redressing it^b; a detailed description of the distressing state of the working people of Silesia, with a history of the riots of last spring; some other articles descriptive of the state of society in Germany; and, finally, an account of the American and Harmony communities (from Mr. Finch's letters and that of "One who has whistled at the Plough"^c), by F. Engels. The book, though prosecuted by the Prussian Government, met with a rapid sale in all quarters. A number of monthly periodicals have been established: the *Westphalian Steamboat*,^d published at Bielefeld, by Lüning, containing popular essays on Socialism and reports on the state of the working people; the *People's Journal*,^e at Cologne, with a more decided Socialist tendency; and the *Gesellschaftsspiegel* (Mirror of Society), at Elberfeld, by Dr. Hess, founded expressly for the publication of facts characteristic of the present state of society, and for the advocacy of the rights of the working classes. A quarterly review, the *Rheinische Jahrbücher* (Rhenish Annals), by Dr. Püttmann, has also been established; the first number is now in the press and will shortly be published.

On the other hand, a war has been declared against those of the German philosophers, who refuse to draw from their mere theories practical inferences, and who contend that man has nothing to do but to speculate upon metaphysical questions. Messrs. Marx and Engels have published a detailed refutation of the principles advocated by B. Bauer^f; and Messrs. Hess and Bürgers are engaged in refuting the theory of M. Stirner: — Bauer

^a *Deutsches Bürgerbuch für 1845.*—Ed.

^b M. Hess, *Über die Noth in unserer Gesellschaft und deren Abhülfe.*—Ed.

^c See pp. 214-28 of this volume. "One who has whistled at the Plough" is Alexander Somerville's pseudonym.—Ed.

^d *Das Westphälische Dampfboot.*—Ed.

^e *Allgemeines Volksblatt.*—Ed.

^f See pp. 7-211 of this volume.—Ed.

and Stirner being the representatives of the ultimate consequences of *abstract* German philosophy, and therefore the only important philosophical opponents of Socialism—or rather Communism, as in this country the word Socialism means nothing but the different vague, undefined, and undefinable imaginations of those who see that something must be done, and who yet cannot make up their minds to go the whole length of the Community system.

In the press are also—Dr. Marx's *Review of Politics and Political Economy*; Mr. F. Engels' *Condition of the Working Classes of Great-Britain*^a; *Anecdota, or a Collection of Papers on Communism*⁸⁸; and in a few days will be commenced a translation of the best French and English works on the subject of Social Reform.⁸⁹

In consequence of the miserable political state of Germany, and the arbitrary proceedings of her patriarchal governments, there is hardly a chance of any but a literary connection between the Communists of the different localities. The periodicals, principally the *Rhenish Annals*, offer a centre for those who, by the press, advocate Communism. Some connection is kept up by travellers, but this is all. Associations are illegal, and even correspondence is unsafe, as the "secret offices"⁹⁰ of late have displayed an unusual activity. Thus it is only by the newspapers that we have received the news of the existence of two Communist associations in Posen and the Silesian mountains. It is reported that at Posen, the capital of Prussian Poland, a number of young men had formed themselves into a secret society, founded upon Communist principles, and with the intention of taking possession of the town; that the plot was discovered, and its execution prevented: this is all we know about the matter. This much, however, is certain, that a great many young men of aristocratic and wealthy Polish families, have been arrested; that since (more than two months) all watch posts are doubled and provided with ball cartridge; and that two youths (of 12 and 19 years respectively), the brothers Rymarkiewicz, have absconded, and not yet been got hold of by the authorities. A great number of the prisoners are youths of from 12 to 20 years. The other so-called conspiracy, in the Silesian mountains, is said to have been very extensive, and also for a Communist purpose: they are reported to have intended to take the fortress of Schweidnitz, to occupy the whole range of mountains, and to appeal from thence to the suffering workpeople of all Germany. How far this may be true, nobody is able to judge; but in this unfortunate district, also, arrests have taken place on the

^a See pp. 295-583 of this volume.—*Ed.*

depositions of a police spy; and a wealthy manufacturer, Mr. Schlöffel, has been transported to Berlin, where he is now under trial, as the supposed head of the conspiracy.

The associations of German Communists of the working classes in Switzerland, France and England continue to be very active; though in France, and some parts of Switzerland, they have much to suffer from the police. The papers announce that about sixty members of the Communist association of Geneva have been expelled from the town and canton. A. Becker, one of the cleverest of the Swiss Communists, has published a lecture delivered at Lausanne, entitled, "What do the Communists Want?"^a which belongs to the best and most spirited things of the sort we know of. I dare say it would merit an English translation, and I should be glad if any of your readers were acquainted enough with the German language to undertake it. It is, of course, only a small pamphlet.

I expect to continue my reports from time to time, and remain, etc.

An old friend of yours in Germany

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^a A. Becker, "Was wollen die Kommunisten?"—*Ed.*

Frederick Engels
SPEECHES IN ELBERFELD⁹¹

FEBRUARY 8, 1845

Gentlemen!

As you have just heard and as, moreover, I may assume it to be generally known, we live in a world of free competition. Let us then look a little closer at this free competition and at the world order to which it has given rise. In our present-day society, each man works on his own, each strives for his own enrichment and is not in the least concerned with what the rest are doing; rational organisation, or distribution of jobs, is out of the question; on the contrary, each seeks to get the better of the other, seeks to exploit any favourable opportunity for his own private advantage and has neither time nor inclination to think about the fact that, at bottom, his own interests coincide with those of all other people. The individual capitalist is involved in struggle with all the other capitalists; the individual worker with all the other workers; all capitalists fight against the workers just as the mass of workers in their turn have, of necessity, to fight against the mass of capitalists. In this war of all against all, in this general confusion and mutual exploitation, the essence of present-day bourgeois society is to be found. But, gentlemen, such an unregulated economic system must, in the long run, lead to the most disastrous results for society; the disorder which lies at its basis, the disregard for the real, general well-being must sooner or later make itself felt in the most striking fashion. The ruin of the small middle class, that estate which constituted the main foundation of states during the last century, is the first result of this struggle. Daily we see how this class in society is crushed by the power of capital, how, for example, the individual master tailors and cabinet-makers lose their best customers to shops selling ready-made clothes and

furniture and from being small capitalists, members of the *propertied* class, are transformed into dependent proletarians working for others, into members of the *propertyless* class. The ruin of the middle class is a much deplored consequence of our much lauded freedom of occupation, it is a necessary result of the advantages which the big capitalist has over his less affluent competitors; it is the most vigorous living expression of capital's tendency to become concentrated in a few hands. This tendency is likewise widely recognised; there is general lamentation about the fact that property is being accumulated daily in fewer hands and that on the contrary the great majority of the nation is becoming more and more impoverished. Thus there arises the glaring contradiction between a few rich people on the one hand, and many poor on the other; a contradiction which has already risen to a menacing point in England and France and is daily growing sharper in our country too. And as long as the present basis of society is retained, so long will it be impossible to halt the progressing enrichment of a few individuals and the impoverishment of the great majority: the contradiction will develop more and more sharply until finally necessity compels society to reorganise itself on more rational principles.

But these, gentlemen, are far from being all the consequences of free competition. Since each man produces and consumes on his own without concerning himself much about what others are producing and consuming, a crying disproportion between production and consumption must, of necessity, quickly develop. Since present-day society entrusts the distribution of the goods produced to merchants, speculators and shopkeepers, each one of whom has only his own advantage in mind, similarly in the distribution—even apart from the fact that it is impossible for the propertyless man to secure for himself a sufficient share—similarly in the distribution of the products the same disproportion will arise. How is the manufacturer to discover how much of his products are needed in this or that market, and even if he could discover this, how could he get to know how much his competitors are sending to each of these markets? How can he—who in most cases does not even know where the goods he is just producing will go—possibly know how much his foreign competitors will send to each of the markets in question? He knows nothing about all this; like his competitors, he manufactures at haphazard and consoles himself with the thought that the others must do likewise. He has no other guide than the constantly fluctuating level of prices which, in the case of distant markets, is quite different at

the moment when he dispatches his goods from what it was when the letter informing him about it was written, and which again is different at the time the goods arrive from what it was when they were despatched. Where you have such irregularity of production it is also quite natural that at every moment there are interruptions to trade, which naturally must be all the more serious the more advanced the industry and trade of a given country is. In this regard England—the country with the most developed industry—provides us with the most striking examples. Due to the expansion of trade, to the many speculators and commission agents who have forced themselves in between the producing manufacturer and the actual consumers, it is becoming much more difficult for the English than for the German manufacturer to obtain even the remotest idea of the relationship between the stocks available and production on the one hand and consumption on the other; in addition he has to supply nearly all the markets in the world, but in hardly a single case does he know where his goods go and thus, with the gigantic productive power of British industry, it very frequently happens that all the markets are suddenly glutted. Trade comes to a standstill, factories work half-time or stop altogether; a series of bankruptcies begins, stocks must be sold off at ridiculously low prices and a great part of the capital, accumulated with great effort, is lost again as a result of this kind of trade crisis. We have had a whole series of such trade crises in England since the beginning of this century, and one every five or six years in the last twenty years.⁹² The last two, gentlemen, those of 1837 and 1842, will still be vividly remembered by most of you. And if our industry were as big, our sales as extensive as the industry and trade of England, then we would experience the same results, whereas at present the effect of competition in industry and in trade is making itself felt here in a general, continuous depression in all branches of business, in a miserable half-way position between a definite boom and complete decline, in a situation of mild stagnation, i.e., of stability.

Gentlemen, what is the real reason of this deplorable state of affairs? What gives rise to the ruin of the middle class, to the glaring contradiction between rich and poor, to stagnation in trade and the waste of capital resulting therefrom? Nothing else than the divergence of interests. All of us work each for his own advantage, unconcerned about the welfare of others and, after all, it is an obvious, self-evident truth that the interest, the well-being, the happiness of every individual is inseparably bound up with that of his fellow-men. We must all acknowledge that we cannot

do without our fellow-men, that our interests, if nothing else, bind us all to one another, and yet by our actions we fly in the face of this truth: and yet we arrange our society as if our interests were not identical but completely and utterly opposed. We have seen what the results of this fundamental mistake were; if we want to eliminate these unpleasant consequences then we must correct this fundamental mistake, and that is precisely the aim of communism.

In communist society, where the interests of individuals are not opposed to one another but, on the contrary, are united, competition is eliminated. As is self-evident, there can no longer be any question of the ruin of particular classes, nor of the very existence of classes such as the rich and the poor nowadays. As soon as private gain, the aim of the individual to enrich himself on his own, disappears from the production and distribution of the goods necessary to life, trade crises will also disappear of themselves. In communist society it will be easy to be informed about both production and consumption. Since we know how much, on the average, a person needs, it is easy to calculate how much is needed by a given number of individuals, and since production is no longer in the hands of private producers but in those of the community and its administrative bodies, it is a trifling matter *to regulate production according to needs*.

Thus we see how the main evils of the present social situation disappear under communist organisation. If, however, we go into a little more detail, we will find that the advantages of such a social organisation are not limited to this but also include the elimination of a host of other defects. I shall only touch today on a few of the economic drawbacks. From the economic point of view the present arrangement of society is surely the most irrational and unpractical we can possibly conceive. The opposition of interests results in a great amount of labour power being utilised in a way from which society gains nothing, and in a substantial amount of capital being unnecessarily lost without reproducing itself. We already see this in the commercial crises; we see how masses of goods, all of which men have produced with great effort, are thrown away at prices which cause loss to the sellers; we see how masses of capital, accumulated with great effort, disappear before the very eyes of their owners as a result of bankruptcies. Let us, however, discuss present-day trade in a little more detail. Consider through how many hands every product must go before it reaches the actual consumer. Consider, gentlemen, how many speculating, swindling superfluous middlemen have now forced themselves in between the producer and the consumer! Let

us take, for example, a bale of cotton produced in North America. The bale passes from the hands of the planter into those of the agent on some station or other on the Mississippi and travels down the river to New Orleans. Here it is sold—for a second time, for the agent has already bought it from the planter—sold, it might well be, to the speculator, who sells it once again, to the exporter. The bale now travels to Liverpool where, once again, a greedy speculator stretches out his hands towards it and grabs it. This man then trades it to a commission agent who, let us assume, is a buyer for a German house. So the bale travels to Rotterdam, up the Rhine, through another dozen hands of forwarding agents, being unloaded and loaded a dozen times, and only then does it arrive in the hands, not of the consumer, but of the manufacturer, who first makes it into an article of consumption, and who perhaps sells his yarn to a weaver, who disposes of what he has woven to the textile printer, who then does business with the wholesaler, who then deals with the retailer, who finally sells the commodity to the consumer. And all these millions of intermediary swindlers, speculators, agents, exporters, commission agents, forwarding agents, wholesalers and retailers, who actually contribute nothing to the commodity itself—they all want to live and make a profit—and they do make it too, on the average, otherwise they could not subsist. Gentlemen, is there no simpler, cheaper way of bringing a bale of cotton from America to Germany and of getting the product manufactured from it into the hands of the real consumer than this complicated business of ten times selling and a hundred times loading, unloading and transporting it from one warehouse to another? Is this not a striking example of the manifold waste of labour power brought about by the divergence of interests? Such a complicated way of transport is out of the question in a rationally organised society. To keep to our example, just as one can easily know how much cotton or manufactured cotton goods an individual colony needs, it will be equally easy for the central authority to determine how much all the villages and townships in the country need. Once such statistics have been worked out—which can easily be done in a year or two—average annual consumption will only change in proportion to the increasing population; it is therefore easy at the appropriate time to determine in advance what amount of each particular article the people will need—the entire great amount will be ordered direct from the source of supply; it will then be possible to procure it directly, without middlemen, without more delay and unloading than is really required by the nature of the

journey, that is, with a great saving of labour power; it will not be necessary to pay the speculators, the dealers large and small, their rake-off. But this is still not all—in this way these middlemen are not only made harmless to society, they are, in fact, made useful to it. Whereas they now perform to the disadvantage of everyone else a kind of work which is, at best, superfluous but which, nevertheless, provides them with a living, indeed, in many cases even with great riches, whereas they are thus at present directly prejudicial to the general good, they will then become free to engage in useful labour and to take up an occupation in which they can prove themselves as actual members, not merely apparent, sham members, of human society, and as participants in its activity as a whole.

Present-day society, which breeds hostility between the individual man and everyone else, thus produces a social war of all against all which inevitably in individual cases, notably among uneducated people, assumes a brutal, barbarously violent form—that of crime. In order to protect itself against crime, against direct acts of violence, society requires an extensive, complicated system of administrative and judicial bodies which requires an immense labour force. In communist society this would likewise be vastly simplified, and precisely because—strange though it may sound—precisely because the administrative body in this society would have to manage not merely individual aspects of social life, but the whole of social life, in all its various activities, in all its aspects. We eliminate the contradiction between the individual man and all others, we counterpose social peace to social war, we put the axe to the *root* of crime—and thereby render the greatest, by far the greatest, part of the present activity of the administrative and judicial bodies superfluous. Even now crimes of passion are becoming fewer and fewer in comparison with calculated crimes, crimes of interest—crimes against *persons* are declining, crimes against *property* are on the increase. Advancing civilisation moderates violent outbreaks of passion even in our present-day society, which is on a war footing; how much more will this be the case in communist, peaceful society! Crimes against property cease of their own accord where everyone receives what he needs to satisfy his natural and his spiritual urges, where social gradations and distinctions cease to exist. Justice concerned with criminal cases ceases of itself, that dealing with civil cases, which are almost all rooted in the property relations or at least in such relations as arise from the situation of social war, likewise disappears; conflicts can then be only rare exceptions, whereas they are now the

natural result of general hostility, and will be easily settled by arbitrators. The activities of the administrative bodies at present have likewise their source in the continual social war—the police and the entire administration do nothing else but see to it that the war remains concealed and indirect and does not erupt into open violence, into crimes. But if it is infinitely easier to maintain peace than to keep war within certain limits, so it is vastly more easy to administer a communist community rather than a competitive one. And if civilisation has already taught men to seek their interest in the maintenance of public order, public security, and the public interest, and therefore to make the police, administration and justice as superfluous as possible, how much more will this be the case in a society in which community of interests has become the basic principle, and in which the public interest is no longer distinct from that of each individual! What already exists now, *in spite of* the social organisation, how much more will it exist when it is no longer hindered, but supported by the social institutions! We may thus also in this regard count on a considerable increase in the labour force through that part of the labour force of which society is deprived by the present social condition.

One of the most expensive institutions which present-day society cannot dispense with are the standing armies, by which the nation is deprived of the most vigorous and useful section of the population and compelled to feed it since it thereby becomes unproductive. We know from our own budget what the standing army costs—twenty-four million a year and the withdrawal from production of twice one hundred thousand of the most muscular arms. In communist society it would not occur to anyone to have a standing army. What for, anyhow? To maintain peace in the country? As we saw above, it will not occur to anyone to disturb internal peace. Fear of revolutions is, of course, the consequence only of the opposition of interests; where the interests of all coincide, such fears are out of the question.— For aggressive wars? But how could a communist society conceive the idea of undertaking an aggressive war?—this society which is perfectly well aware that in war it will only lose men and capital while the most it could gain would be a couple of recalcitrant provinces, which would as a consequence be disruptive of social order.— For a war of defence? For that there is no need of a standing army, as it will be easy to train every fit member of society, in addition to his other occupations, in real, not barrack-square handling of arms to the degree necessary for the defence of the country. And, gentlemen, consider this, that in the event of a war, which anyway could *only*

be waged against anti-communist nations, the member of such a society has a *real* Fatherland, a *real* hearth and home to defend, so that he will fight with an enthusiasm, endurance and bravery before which the mechanically trained soldiers of a modern army must be scattered like chaff. Consider what wonders were worked by the enthusiasm of the revolutionary armies from 1792 to 1799, which only fought for an *illusion*, for the *semblance of a Fatherland*, and you will be bound to realise how powerful an army must be which fights, not for an illusion, but for a tangible reality. Thus these immense masses of labour power of which the civilised nations are now deprived by the armies, would be returned to labour in a communist society; they would not only produce as much as they consume, but would be able to supply to the public storehouses a great many more products than those necessary for their own sustenance.

An even worse wastage of labour power is to be seen in our existing society in the way the rich exploit their social position. I will say nothing of all the useless and quite ridiculous luxury which arises only from the passion for display and occupies a great deal of labour power. But, gentlemen, just go into the house, the inmost sanctuary, of a rich man and tell me if it is not the most senseless waste of labour power when you have a number of people waiting on one single individual, spending their time in idleness or, at best, in work which results from the isolation of a single man inside his own four walls? This crowd of maids, cooks, lackeys, coachmen, domestic servants, gardeners and whatever they are called, what do they really do? For how *few moments* during the day they are occupied in making the lives of their masters *really* pleasant, in facilitating the free development and exercise of their human nature and inborn capacities—and *how many hours* during the day they are occupied in tasks which arise only from the bad arrangement of our social relations—standing at the back of the carriage, serving their employers' every whim, carrying lap-dogs, and other absurdities. In a rationally organised society, where everyone will be in a position to live without pandering to the whims of the rich and without lapsing into any such whims himself—in such a society, the labour power now thus wasted on the provision of luxury can naturally be used to the advantage of all and to its own.

A further waste of labour power occurs in our present society quite directly as a result of competition, for this creates a large number of destitute workers who *would* gladly work, but *cannot* get any work. Since society is not by any means arranged so as to be

able to pay attention to the real utilisation of the labour force, since it is left to every individual to look for a source of gain, it is quite natural that when really or apparently useful work is being distributed, a number of workers are left without any. This is all the more the case as the competitive struggle compels everyone to strain his power to the utmost, to utilise all available advantages, to replace dearer labour by cheaper for which advancing civilisation provides more and more means or, in other words, everyone has to work at making others destitute, at displacing other people's labour by one means or another. Thus in every civilised society there are large numbers of unemployed people who would gladly work but cannot find work and their number is larger than is commonly believed. And so we find these people *prostituting* themselves in one way or another, begging, sweeping the streets, standing on corners, only barely keeping body and soul together by occasional small jobs, hawking and peddling all manner of petty wares or, as we saw a couple of poor girls doing this evening, going from place to place with a guitar, playing and singing for money, compelled to put up with all kinds of shameless talk, every insulting suggestion in order to earn a couple of *groschen*. How many finally fall victims to *real* prostitution! Gentlemen, the number of these destitute people who have no other course open but to prostitute themselves in one way or another is very large—our Poor Relief authorities can tell you all about this—and don't forget that society nevertheless feeds these people in one way or another despite their uselessness. If, then, society has to bear the cost of their maintenance, it should also make it possible for these unemployed to earn their keep *honourably*. But the present competitive society *cannot* do this.

If you think about all this, gentlemen—and I could have given you many other examples of how our present society wastes its labour force—if you think about this, you will find that human society has an abundance of productive forces at its disposal which only await a rational organisation, regulated distribution, in order to go into operation to the greatest benefit for all. After this you will be able to judge how totally unfounded is the fear that, given a just distribution of social activity, individuals would have to bear such a load of labour as would make it impossible for them to engage in anything else. On the contrary, we can assume that given this kind of organisation, the present customary labour time of the individual will be reduced by half simply by making use of the labour which is either not used at all or used disadvantageously.

However, the benefits which communist organisation offers through the *utilisation of wasted labour power* are *not yet the most significant*. The greatest saving of labour power lies in the *fusing of the individual powers* into social collective power and in the kind of organisation which is based on this concentration of powers hitherto opposed to one another. Here I should like to subscribe to the proposals of *Robert Owen*, the English Socialist, since these are the most practical and most fully worked out. Owen proposes that instead of the present towns and villages with their separate individual houses standing in each other's way, we should construct large palaces which, built in the form of a square some 1,650 feet in length and breadth, would enclose a large garden and comfortably accommodate from two to three thousand people. It is obvious that such a building, while providing its occupants with the amenities of the best contemporary housing, is far cheaper and easier to erect than the generally worse individual dwellings required under the present system for the same number of people. The many rooms which now remain empty in almost every decent house, or are only used once or twice a year, disappear without any inconvenience; the saving in space for store-rooms, cellars, etc., is also very great.—But it is only when we go into domestic economy in detail that we will really grasp the advantages of community housing. What an amount of labour and material is squandered under the present system of separate housing—in heating for example! Every room needs to have a separate stove, every stove has to be specially heated, kept alight, supervised, the fuel for heating has to be brought to all the different places, the ashes removed; how much simpler and cheaper it would be to install, instead of the present separate heating, large-scale central heating with, for example, steam pipes and a single, central heating unit, as is already done in big public buildings, factories, churches, etc. Gaslighting, again, is expensive at present because even the thinner pipes have to be laid underground and owing to the large areas to be illuminated in our towns the pipes have to be disproportionately long, whereas under the proposed arrangement everything would be concentrated in an area of a 1,650 foot square and the number of gas burners would nevertheless be as great, so that the result would be at least as beneficial as in a moderately-sized town. And then the preparation of meals—what a waste of space, ingredients, labour, is involved in the present, separate households, where every family cooks its little bit of food on its own, has its own supply of crockery, employs its own cook, must fetch its own supplies separately from the market, from the

garden, from the butcher and the baker! One can safely assume that under a communal system of preparing and serving meals, two-thirds of the labour force now engaged in this work will be saved, and the remaining third will nevertheless be able to perform it better and more attentively than is the case at present. And finally, the housework itself! Will not such a building be infinitely easier to keep clean and in good condition when, as is possible, this kind of work also is organised and regularly shared out, than the two to three hundred separate houses which would be the equivalent under the present housing system?

These, gentlemen, are a few of the innumerable economic advantages which are bound to result from the communist organisation of human society. It is not possible for us in a couple of hours and in a few words to elucidate our principle and duly substantiate it from all points of view. Nor is this by any means our intention. All we can and want to do is to shed light on a few points and to induce those to whom the matter is still strange to study it. And we hope at least that we have made it clear this evening that communism is not contrary to human nature, reason, or the human heart, and that it is not a theory which, taking no account whatever of reality, is rooted in pure fantasy.

People ask how this theory is to be translated into reality, what measures we propose to prepare its introduction. There are various ways to this end; the English will probably begin by setting up a number of colonies and leaving it to every individual whether to join or not; the French, on the other hand, will be likely to prepare and implement communism on a national basis. Not much can be said about how the Germans will start since the social movement in Germany is new. Meanwhile, among the many possible ways of preparing, I would like to mention only one which has recently been much discussed—the carrying through of three measures which are bound to result in practical communism.

The first would be the *general education* of all children without exception at the expense of the state—an education which is equal for all and continues until the individual is capable of emerging as an independent member of society. This measure would be only an act of justice to our destitute fellow creatures, for clearly, every man has the right to the full development of his abilities and society wrongs individuals twice over when it makes ignorance a necessary consequence of poverty. It is obvious that society gains more from educated than from ignorant, uncultured members,

and while, as may be well expected, an educated proletariat will not be disposed to remain in the oppressed condition in which our present proletariat finds itself, the calm and composure necessary for the peaceful transformation of society can also be expected only from an *educated* working class. But that the *uneducated* proletariat likewise has no wish to remain in its present condition is proved also for Germany—not to speak of other peoples—by the disorders in Silesia and Bohemia.⁹³

The second measure would be a complete *reorganisation of the Poor Relief System*, so that all destitute citizens would be housed in colonies where they would be employed in agriculture and industry and their work organised for the benefit of the whole colony. Poor Relief capital has, up to now, been lent out at interest, thus providing the rich with new means for exploiting the propertyless. Let this capital at last work for the benefit of the poor, let the whole yield of this capital, not simply its 3 per cent interest, be used for the poor, and thus give a splendid example of the association of capital and labour! In this way, the labour power of all destitute people would be utilised for the benefit of society and the destitute themselves transformed from demoralised, oppressed paupers into moral, independent, active people whose condition would very soon come to be regarded as enviable by isolated workers and would prepare a thoroughgoing reorganisation of society.

Both these measures require money. In order to raise it and at the same time replace all the present, unjustly distributed taxes, the present reform plan proposes a general, progressive tax on capital, at a rate increasing with the size of the capital. In this way, the burden of public administration would be shared by everyone according to his ability and would no longer fall mainly on the shoulders of those least able to bear it, as has hitherto been the case in all countries. For the principle of taxation is, after all, a purely communist one, since the right to levy taxes is derived in all countries from so-called national property. For either private property is sacrosanct, in which case there is no such thing as national property and the state has no right to levy taxes, or the state has this right, in which case private property is not sacrosanct, national property stands above private property, and the state is the true owner. This latter principle is the one generally accepted—well then, gentlemen; for the present we demand only that this principle be taken seriously, that the state proclaim itself the common owner and, as such, administer public property for the public good, and that as the first step, it introduce a system of

taxation based solely on each individual's ability to pay taxes and on the real public good.

So you see, gentlemen, that it is not intended to introduce common ownership [*Gütergemeinschaft*] overnight and against the will of the nation, but that it is only a matter of establishing the *aim* and the *ways* and *means* of advancing towards it. But that the communist principle will be that of the future is attested by the course of development of all civilised nations, it is attested by the swiftly advancing dissolution of all hitherto existing social institutions; it is attested by common sense and, above all, by the human heart.

FEBRUARY 15, 1845

Gentlemen!

At our last meeting I was accused of taking my examples and illustrations almost exclusively from foreign countries, namely from England. It was said that England and France were of no concern to us, we lived in Germany and it was our business to prove the necessity and advantages of communism for Germany. We were likewise accused of not having sufficiently demonstrated the historical necessity of communism in general. This is quite correct and it was not possible to do otherwise. A historical necessity cannot be demonstrated in as short a time as the congruence of two triangles. It can only be done by study and inquiry into all kinds of far-reaching presuppositions. I will, however, today do my best to answer these two accusations. I will try to show that communism is, if not a historical, at any rate *an economic necessity* for *Germany*.

Let us, first of all, consider the present social situation in Germany. It is known that a great deal of poverty exists among us. Silesia and Bohemia have spoken for themselves. The *Rheinische Zeitung* had much to tell us about the poverty existing in the Mosel and Eifel areas.^a Large-scale and continuous poverty has prevailed in the Erzgebirge from time immemorial. It is no better in the Senne and in the Westphalian linen districts. There are complaints from all parts of Germany and nothing else is to be expected. Our proletariat is numerous and must be so, as we must realise from the most superficial examination of our social situation. It is in the

^a Karl Marx, "Justification of the Correspondent from the Mosel" (see present edition, Vol. 1, pp. 332-58).—*Ed.*

nature of things that there should be a numerous proletariat in the *industrial districts*. Industry cannot exist without a large number of workers who are wholly at its disposal, work exclusively for it and renounce every other way of making a living. Under conditions of competition, industrial employment makes any other employment impossible. For this reason we find in all industrial districts a proletariat too numerous and too obvious for its existence to be denied.—But in the *agricultural districts*, on the other hand, many people assert, no proletariat exists. But how is this possible? In areas where big landownership prevails such a proletariat is necessary; the big farms need farm-hands and servant girls and cannot exist without proletarians. In areas where the land has been parcelled out the rise of a propertyless class cannot be avoided either; the estates are divided up to a certain point, then the division comes to an end; and as then only one member of the family can take over the farm the others must, of course, become proletarians, propertyless workers. This dividing up usually proceeds until the farm becomes too small to feed a family and so a class of people comes into existence which, like the small middle class in the towns, is in transition from the possessing to the non-possessing class, and which is prevented by its property from taking up any other occupation, and yet cannot live on it. In this class, too, great poverty prevails.

That this proletariat is bound steadily to increase in numbers is guaranteed by the increasing impoverishment of the middle classes of which I spoke in detail last week, and by the tendency of capital to become concentrated in a few hands. I do not need to return to these points today, and will only remark that these causes which continually produce and multiply the proletariat will remain the same and will have the same consequences as long as there is competition. The proletariat must under all circumstances not only continue to exist but also enlarge itself continually, become an ever more threatening power in our society as long as we continue to produce each on his own and in opposition to everyone else. But one day the proletariat will attain a level of power and of insight at which it will no longer tolerate the pressure of the entire social structure always bearing down on its shoulders, when it will demand a more even distribution of social burdens and rights; and then—unless human nature has changed by that time—a social revolution will be inevitable.

This is a question which our economists have not as yet gone into at all. They do not concern themselves with the distribution but only with the production of the national wealth. However, let

us leave aside for the moment the fact that, as we have just demonstrated, a social revolution is the consequence of competition; let us consider the individual forms in which competition appears, the different economic possibilities for Germany, and see what the consequences of each must be.

Germany—or the German Customs Union,⁹⁴ to be more precise—has a *juste-milieu* customs tariff at the moment. Our duties are too low to constitute a real protective tariff and too high for free trade. So three things are possible. Either we go over to free trade completely, or we protect our industry by adequate tariffs, or we retain the existing system. Let us examine each of these possibilities.

If we proclaim *free trade* and do away with our tariffs, then our whole industry with the exception of a few branches will be ruined. There can *then* be no question whatsoever of cotton spinning, of mechanised weaving, of most branches of the cotton and woollen industry, of important branches of the silk industry, of almost all production and processing of iron. The workers suddenly made destitute in all these branches would be hurled in masses into agriculture and the debris of industry, pauperism would grow out of the very ground everywhere, the centralisation of property in the hands of a few would be speeded up by such a crisis and, judging by the events in Silesia, the result of this crisis would of necessity be a social revolution.

Or we provide ourselves with *protective tariffs*. These have lately become the darlings of most of our industrialists and therefore deserve closer examination. Herr *List* has brought the wishes of our capitalists into a system^a and I should like to deal for a little while with this system, now almost generally adopted by them as a credo. Herr *List* proposes gradually increasing protective tariffs which are finally to become high enough to guarantee the home market for the manufacturers; they should then remain at that level for a time and then be gradually reduced again so that finally, after a number of years, all tariffs are abolished. Let us assume for a moment that this plan is adopted and increasing protective tariffs are decreed. Industry will expand, idle capital will rush into industrial undertakings, the demand for workers will increase and so will wages along with it, the poor-houses will empty, and to all appearances everything will be in a most flourishing state. This will continue until our industry has suffi-

^a Friedrich List, *Das nationale System der politischen Oekonomie* (for a detailed analysis of this work see Marx's article on pp. 265-93 of this volume).—Ed.

ciently expanded to supply the home market. It cannot expand any further, for since it cannot maintain its hold on the *home* market without protection it will be even less able to do anything against foreign competition in neutral markets. But, says Herr List, by then home industry will be strong enough to require less protection and the reduction of tariffs can commence. Let us agree with this for a moment. The tariffs are reduced. Protection is decreased to such an extent—if not by the first reduction then certainly by the second or third—that foreign, let us say right away, English, industry can compete with our own in the German market. Herr List himself wishes this. But what will be the result of all this? From then on, German industry will have to endure, along with the English, all the fluctuations, all the crises, of the latter. As soon as the overseas markets are glutted with English goods, the English will throw the whole of their surplus stocks on the German market, the nearest one available, just as they are doing now, and as Herr List reports with great emotion, and so transform the German Customs Union into their “second-hand shop” once more. Then English industry will soon rise again because it has the whole world for its market, because the whole world cannot do without it, while German industry is not indispensable even for its own market and has to fear English competition in its own house and is labouring under a profusion of English goods thrown to its customers during the crisis. Then our industry will have to taste to the dregs all the bad times experienced by the English industry while being able to have only a modest share in the latter’s boom periods—in short, we shall be in exactly the same position as we are now. And to come straightaway to the final result, there will then ensue the same depression in which our half-protected industries now find themselves, then one establishment after another will go under without new ones arising, then our machines will become obsolete without our being able to replace them with new and better ones, then the standstill will be transformed into retrogression and, according to Herr List’s own assertion, one industry after another will decay and finally collapse altogether. But then we shall have a numerous proletariat which will have been created by industry and will now have no food, no work; and then, gentlemen, this proletariat will confront the propertied class with the demand to be given work and to be fed.

This is what will happen if the protective tariffs are reduced. Let us now assume that they are not reduced but remain in operation and that it is proposed to wait until competition between

the home manufacturers makes them illusory and then to reduce them. The result of this will be that as soon as German industry is in a position to supply the German market completely it will stand still. New establishments will not be needed since the existing ones suffice for the market and, as has been said above, new markets are out of the question so long as protection is needed at all. But an industry which does not *expand* cannot *improve* itself. It remains stationary both internally and externally. For it there is no such thing as improving the machinery. The old machines cannot just be scrapped, and there are no new establishments which could make use of new ones. Meanwhile other nations go forward, and the standstill in our industry again becomes retrogression. The English, as a result of their advance, will soon be in a position to produce so cheaply that they can compete with our backward industry in our own market *despite* the protective tariffs, and since in competition as in every other kind of struggle victory always goes to the strongest, our ultimate defeat is certain. The same situation then arises about which I have just been speaking: the artificially created proletariat will demand from the property-owners something which, so long as they wish to remain exclusive owners, they are unable to provide, and social revolution begins.

There is yet another possibility, namely, the very improbable one that we Germans will be able owing to protective tariffs to bring our industry to a point at which it can compete with the English without protection. Let us assume that this is so, what would be the result? As soon as we begin to compete with the English in foreign, neutral markets, a life-and-death struggle will arise between our industry and that of the English. They will muster all their strength to keep us out of the markets they have supplied hitherto; they will have to do so because now they will be attacked at their life's source, at the most dangerous spot. And with all the means at their disposal, with all the advantages of a hundred-year-old industry, they will succeed in defeating us. They will keep our industry limited to our own market and thus make it stationary—and then the same situation will arise which has already been outlined; we shall remain stationary, the English will stride forward, and our industry, in view of its unavoidable decay, will not be in a position to feed the proletariat it will have artificially created—the social revolution begins.

But assuming that we could beat the English even in neutral markets, that we were to win from them one trade outlet after another—what would we have gained in this well-nigh impossible case? At best we should repeat the industrial development which

England went through before us, and sooner or later we should arrive at the point which England has now reached — namely the eve of the social revolution. But in all probability it would not take as long as that. As a result of the continual victories of German industry that of the English would necessarily be ruined and this would only speed up the mass uprising of the proletariat against the propertied classes, which is imminent in England in any case. Rapidly spreading destitution would drive the English workers to revolution, and as things stand now, such a social revolution would have enormous repercussions in the continental countries, notably in France and Germany, which must be all the greater the more a proletariat is artificially produced by forcing the pace of industrial development in Germany. Such a revolution would immediately become a European one and would violently upset our manufacturers' dreams of a German industrial monopoly. And that German and English industry should exist peacefully side by side is made impossible if only by competition. I repeat, every industry must advance in order not to lag behind and go under; it must expand, conquer new markets, become enlarged by the addition of new establishments in order to be able to advance. But as no new markets are being won since the opening up of China,⁹⁵ and only better exploitation of the existing markets is possible, and as the expansion of industry will therefore proceed more slowly in future than it has done up to now, England can tolerate a competitor even less now than it could in the past. It must hold down the industry of all other countries in order to protect its own industry from ruin. For England the maintenance of industrial monopoly is no longer merely a question of a greater or lesser profit, it has become a *question of life or death*. The competitive struggle between nations is, in any case, much fiercer, much more decisive than that between individuals, because it is a more concentrated struggle, a struggle between masses, which can only be ended by the decisive victory of one side and the decisive defeat of the other. And for this reason, such a struggle between us and the English, no matter what the outcome, would be of no benefit either to our or to the English industrialists but, as I have shown, would only bring a social revolution in its train.

We have thus seen, gentlemen, what Germany can expect in all possible cases both from free trade and from protection. We still have, however, one economic possibility open to us, namely, that we continue with the *juste-milieu* tariffs now in operation. But we have already seen what the results would be. One branch of our industry after another would collapse, the industrial workers

would become destitute, and when the destitution reached a certain point they would explode into a revolution against the propertied classes.

So you see, gentlemen, substantiated also in detail what in the beginning, proceeding from competition in general, I set out in general terms—namely, that the unavoidable result of our existing social relations, under all circumstances, and in all cases, will be a *social revolution*. With the same certainty with which we can develop from given mathematical principles a new mathematical proposition, with the same certainty we can deduce from the existing economic relations and the principles of political economy the imminence of social revolution. Let us, however, look at this upheaval a little closer; what form will it take, what will be its results, in what ways will it differ from the previous violent upheavals? A social revolution, gentlemen, is something quite different from the political revolutions which have taken place so far. It is not directed, as these have been, against the property of monopoly, but against the monopoly of property; a social revolution, gentlemen, is *the open war of the poor against the rich*. And such a struggle, in which all the mainsprings and causes, which in previous historical conflicts lay dark and hidden at the bottom, operate openly and without concealment, such a struggle, to be sure, threatens to be far fiercer and bloodier than all those that preceded it. The result of this struggle can be twofold. Either the rebellious party only attacks the appearance, not the essence, only the form, not the thing itself, or it goes for the thing itself, grasps the evil itself by the root. In the first case private property will be allowed to continue and will only be distributed differently, so that the causes which have led to the present situation remain in operation and must sooner or later bring about a similar situation and another revolution. But, gentlemen, is this possible? Has there been a revolution which did not really carry out what it was out for? The English revolution realised both the religious and the political principles whose suppression by Charles I caused it to break out; the French bourgeoisie in its fight against the aristocracy and the old monarchy achieved everything that it aimed for, made an end to all the abuses which drove it to insurrection. And should the insurrection of the poor cease before poverty and its causes have been eliminated? It is not possible, gentlemen; it would be flying in the face of all historical experience to suppose such a thing. Furthermore, the level of education of the workers, especially in England and France, forbids us to consider this possible. There only remains, then, the other alternative, namely,

that the future social revolution will deal with the real causes of want and poverty, of ignorance and crime, that it will therefore carry through a real social reform. And this can only happen by the proclamation of the principles of communism. Just consider, gentlemen, the ideas which actuate the worker in those countries where the worker too thinks. Look at France, at the different sections of the labour movement, whether they are not *all* communistic; go to England and listen to the kind of proposals being made to the workers for the improvement of their position—are they not *all* based on the principle of common property; study the different systems of social reform and how many will you find that are not communistic? Of all the systems which are still of any importance today, the only one which is not communistic is that of Fourier, who devoted more attention to the social organisation of human activity than to the distribution of its products. All these facts justify the conclusion that a future social revolution will end with the implementation of the principles of communism and hardly permit any other possibility.

If, gentlemen, these conclusions are correct, if the social revolution and practical communism are the necessary result of our existing conditions—then we will have to concern ourselves above all with the measures by which we can avoid a violent and bloody overthrow of the social conditions. And there is only *one* means, namely, the peaceful introduction or at least preparation of communism. If we do not want the *bloody* solution of the social problem, if we do not want to permit the daily growing contradiction between the education and the condition of our proletarians to come to a head, which, according to all our experience of human nature, will mean that this contradiction will be solved by brute force, desperation and thirst for revenge, then, gentlemen, we must apply ourselves seriously and without prejudice to the social problem; then we must make it our business to contribute our share towards humanising the condition of the modern helots. And if it should perhaps appear to some of you that the raising of the hitherto abased classes will not be possible without an abasement of your own condition, then you ought to bear in mind that what is involved is to create for *all people* such a condition that everyone can freely develop his human nature and live in a human relationship with his neighbours, and has no need to fear any violent shattering of his condition; it must be borne in mind that what some individuals have to sacrifice is not their real human enjoyment of life, but only the semblance of this enjoyment produced by our bad conditions, something which conflicts

with the reason and the heart of those who now enjoy these apparent advantages. Far from wishing to destroy real human life with all its requirements and needs, we wish on the contrary really to bring it into being. And if, even apart from this, you will only seriously consider for a moment what the consequences of our present situation are bound to be, into what labyrinths of contradictions and disorders it is leading us—then, gentlemen, you will certainly find it worth the trouble to study the social question seriously and thoroughly. And if I can induce you to do this, I shall have achieved the purpose of my talk.

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Karl Marx

DRAFT OF AN ARTICLE ON FRIEDRICH LIST'S BOOK DAS NATIONALE SYSTEM DER POLITISCHEN OEKONOMIE⁹⁶

[1. *General Characterisation of List*]

... [2] that awareness of the death of the bourgeoisie has already penetrated the consciousness even of the German bourgeois, so the German bourgeois is naive enough himself to admit this "sad fact".

"For this reason also it is *so sad* that the evils which in our day accompany industry are advanced as a reason for rejecting industry itself. There exist far greater evils than a social estate [Stand] of *proletarians*: an empty exchequer—national impotence—national slavery—national death" (p. Lxvii).

It is truly sadder that the proletariat already exists and already advances claims, and already inspires fear, before the German bourgeois has yet achieved the development of industry. As far as the proletarian himself is concerned, he will certainly find his social situation [Stand] a happy one when the ruling bourgeoisie has a full exchequer and national might. Herr List only speaks about what is *sadder* for the bourgeois. And we admit that for him it is very sad that he wants to establish the domination of industry precisely at the unsuitable moment when the slavery of the majority resulting from this domination has become a generally known fact. The German bourgeois is the *knight of the rueful countenance*, who wanted to introduce knight-errantry just when the police and money had come to the fore.

3. A great inconvenience (obstacle)⁹⁷ affecting the German bourgeois in his striving for industrial wealth is his *idealism* professed hitherto. How is it that this nation of the "*spirit*" suddenly comes to find the supreme blessings of mankind in calico, knitting yarn, the self-acting mule, in a mass of factory slaves, in the materialism of machinery, in the full money-bags of

Messrs. the factory-owners? The empty, shallow, sentimental idealism of the German bourgeois, beneath which lies hidden (is concealed) the pettiest, dirtiest and most cowardly shopkeeper's spirit (soul), has arrived at the epoch when this bourgeois is inevitably compelled to divulge his secret. But again he divulges it in a truly German, highflown manner. He divulges it with an idealistic-Christian sense of shame. He disavows wealth while striving for it. He clothes spiritless materialism in an idealistic disguise and only then ventures to pursue it.

The whole theoretical part of List's system is nothing but a [.]^a disguising of the industrial materialism of frank political economy in idealistic phrases. Everywhere he allows the thing to remain in existence but idealises the expression of it. We shall trace this in detail. It is just this empty idealistic phraseology that enables him to ignore the *real* barriers standing in the way of his pious wishes and to indulge in the most absurd fantasies (what would have become of the English and French bourgeoisie if it had first to ask a high-ranking nobility, an esteemed bureaucracy and the ancient ruling dynasties for permission to give "industry" the "force of law"?).

The German bourgeois is religious even when he is an industrialist. He shrinks from speaking about the nasty exchange values which he covets and speaks about productive forces [von Produktivkräften]; he shrinks from speaking about competition and speaks of a national confederation of national productive forces; he shrinks from speaking of his private interest and speaks about the national interest. When one looks at the frank, classic cynicism with which the English and French bourgeoisie, as represented by its first—at least at the beginning of its domination—scientific spokesmen of political economy, elevated wealth into a god and ruthlessly sacrificed everything else to it, to this Moloch, in science as well, and when, on the other hand, one looks at the idealising, phrase-mongering, bombastic manner of Herr List, who in the midst of political economy despises the wealth of "righteous men" and knows loftier aims, one is bound to find it "also sad" that the present day is no longer a day for wealth.

Herr List always speaks in Molossus metre.⁹⁸ He continually shows off in a clumsy and verbose rhetoric, the troubled waters of which always drive him in the end on to a sandbank, and the essence of which consists of constant repetitions about protective

^a There are three illegible words in the manuscript here, apparently meaning "fallen in front of him".—*Ed.*

tariffs and true German ["teutsche"] factories. He is continually sensuously supersensuous.

The German idealising philistine who wants to become wealthy must, of course, first create for himself a new theory of wealth, one which makes wealth worthy of his striving for it. The bourgeois in France and England see the approach of the storm which will destroy in practice the *real* life of what has hitherto been called wealth, but the German bourgeois, who has not yet arrived at this inferior wealth, tries to give a new, "spiritualistic" interpretation of it. He creates for himself an "idealising" political economy, which has nothing in common with profane French and English political economy, in order to justify to himself and the world that he, too, wants to become wealthy. The German bourgeois begins his creation of wealth with the creation of a highflown hypocritically idealising political economy.

3.⁹⁹ How Herr List interprets history and what attitude he adopts towards Smith and his school.

Humble as is Herr List's attitude to the nobility, the ancient ruling dynasties and the bureaucracy, he is to the same degree "audacious" in opposing French and English political economy, of which Smith is the protagonist, and which has cynically betrayed the *secret* of "wealth" and made impossible all illusions about its nature, tendency and movement. Herr List lumps them all together by calling them "the School". For since the German bourgeois is concerned with protective tariffs, the whole development of political economy since Smith has, of course, no meaning for him, because all its most outstanding representatives presuppose the present-day bourgeois society of competition and free trade.

The German philistine here reveals his "national" character in many ways.

1) In the whole of political economy, he sees only systems concocted in academic study rooms. That the development of a science such as political economy is connected with the real movement of society, or is only its theoretical [3] expression, Herr List, of course, does not suspect. A German theoretician.

2) Since his own work (theory) conceals a secret aim, he suspects secret aims everywhere.

Being a true German philistine, Herr List, instead of studying real history, looks for the secret, bad aims of individuals, and, owing to his cunning, he is very well able to discover them (puzzle them out). He makes great discoveries, such as that Adam Smith wanted to deceive the world by his theory, and that the whole

world let itself be deceived by him until the great Herr List woke it from its dream, rather in the way that a certain Düsseldorf Counsellor of Justice made out that Roman history had been invented by medieval monks in order to justify the domination of Rome.

But just as the German bourgeois knows no better way of opposing his enemy than by casting a moral slur on him, casting aspersions on his frame of mind, and seeking bad motives for his actions, in short, by bringing him into *bad repute* and making him personally an object of suspicion, so Herr List also casts aspersions on the English and French economists, and retails gossip about them. And just as the German philistine does not disdain the pettiest profit-making and swindling in trade, so Herr List does not disdain to juggle with words from the quotations he gives in order to make them profitable. He does not disdain to stick the trade-mark of his rival on to his own bad products, in order to bring his rival's products into disrepute by falsifying them, or even to invent downright lies about his competitor in order to discredit him.

We shall give a few samples of Herr List's mode of procedure.

It is well known that the German priests believed they could inflict no more deadly blow on the Enlightenment than by telling us the stupid anecdote and lie that on his death-bed Voltaire had renounced his views. Herr List, too, takes us to Adam Smith's death-bed and informs us that it turned out that Smith had not been sincere in his teaching. However, listen to Herr List himself and his further verdict on Smith. We put alongside List's words the source of his wisdom.

List:
[*National System of Political Economy*,
Vol. I: *International Trade, Trade Policy*
and the German Customs Union. Stuttgart
and Tübingen, 1841:]

"I recalled from the biography by Dugald Stewart how this great mind [Adam Smith] could not die in peace before all his manuscripts had been burned, by which I wanted to make it understood how serious is the suspicion that these papers contained proofs against his sincerity" (p. Lviii). "I showed that the English Ministers [...] made use of his theory in order to throw dust into the eyes of other nations for the benefit of England" (loc.

Ferrier, F.L.A., *Du gouvernement considéré dans ses rapports avec le commerce*, Paris, 1805:

"Is it possible that Smith was sincere in heaping up so many false arguments in favour of free trade?... Smith had as his secret aim to spread in Europe principles the adoption of which he knew very well would give his country the world market" (pp. 385, 386). "One is even justified in assuming that Smith did not always propound one and the same doctrine; and how otherwise is one to explain the torment he suffered on his death-bed because of the fear

cit.). "As regards its relation to national and international conditions, Adam Smith's theory is a mere continuation of the physiocratic system. Like the latter, it ignores the nature of the nations [...] and presupposes eternal peace and universal union as already in existence" (p. 475).

that the manuscripts of his lectures would survive him" (p. 386). He [Ferrier] loc. cit. (p. 388) reproaches Smith for having been a *commissaire des douanes*.^a "Smith almost always argued like the economists" (physiocrats), "without taking into account the divergence between the interests of the different nations, and on the assumption of a situation where there would be only one society in the world" (p. 381). "Let us set aside all these projects of union" (p. 15).

(Monsieur Ferrier was an *inspecteur des douanes*^b under Napoleon and loved his profession.)

J.-B. Say's political economy is interpreted by Herr List as an unsuccessful speculation. We shall give below in full his categorical verdict on the life of Say. But before doing so, one more example of the way in which List copies from other authors and in copying falsifies them in order to hit at his opponents.

List:

"Say and McCulloch seem not to have seen or read more than the title of this book" (that of Antonio Serra from Naples); "both loftily throw it aside with the remark: it treats only of money, and the title by itself proves that the author laboured under the delusion that the precious metals were the sole objects of wealth. If they had read on further," etc. (p. 456).

Count Pecchio, *History of Political Economy in Italy, etc.* Paris, 1830^c:

"Foreigners tried to rob Serra of the merit of having been the first founder of the principles of this science" (political economy). "What I have just said cannot be applied at all to Monsieur Say, who while always reproaching Serra for having regarded only the materials of gold and silver as wealth, nevertheless allowed him the glory of having been the first to make known the productive power of industry.... My reproach is addressed to Mr. McCulloch.... If Mr. McCulloch had read a little more than the title [of Serra's book]", etc. (pp. 76, 77).

One sees how Herr List *deliberately* falsifies Pecchio, from whom he copies, in order to discredit Monsieur Say. No less false is the biographical information given about Say.

^a Customs officer.—Ed.

^b Customs inspector.—Ed.

^c Pecchio, J. (comte), *Histoire de l'économie politique en Italie*, Paris, 1830. (In the manuscript the title of the book is given in German.)—Ed.

Herr List says about him:

"First a merchant, then a factory-owner, then an unsuccessful politician, Say took up political economy, as people take up some new enterprise when the old one no longer succeeds.... Hatred of the Continental System, which ruined his factory, and of the originator of this system, who drove him out of the Tribunal, caused him to come out in support of absolute freedom of trade" (pp. 488, 489).

So Say supported the system of free trade *because* his factory was ruined by the Continental System! But what if he had written his *Traité d'économie politique*^a *before* he owned a factory? Say became a supporter of the system of free trade because Napoleon drove him out of the Tribunal!¹⁰⁰ But what if he had written his book *while he was a tribune*? What if Say, who according to Herr List was an unsuccessful businessman who saw in literature only a branch of business, had from his early youth played a part in the French literary world?

Where did Herr List obtain his new information? From the *Historical Note on the Life and Works of J.-B. Say* by Charles Comte,¹⁰¹ which was published as an introduction to Say's *Cours complet d'économie politique*. What does this note tell us? It contains the opposite of all List's statements. Listen:

"J.-B. Say was intended by his father, who was a merchant, [4] to engage in trade. However, his inclination drew him to literature. In 1789 he published a pamphlet in behalf of freedom of the press. From the outset of the revolution he contributed to the newspaper *Courrier de Provence*, published by Mirabeau. He also worked in the office of the Minister Clavière. His penchant 'for the moral and political sciences', as also his father's bankruptcy, caused him to give up trade completely and to make scientific activity his sole occupation. In 1794 he became editor-in-chief of the *Décade philosophique, littéraire et politique*. In 1799 Napoleon appointed him a member of the Tribunal. The spare time left him from his function as tribune he used to work on his *Traité politique*, which he published in 1803. He was dismissed from the Tribunal because he belonged to the few who dared to be in opposition. He was offered a lucrative post in the finance department, but he refused although *chargé de six enfants et n'ayant presque point de fortune*^b..., since he would not have been able to carry out the duties of the post offered him without taking part in implementing a system which he had condemned as being disastrous for France. He preferred to start up a cotton-spinning mill, etc."

If the slur which Herr List here casts on J.-B. Say owes its origin to falsification, this is no less the case with the praise List bestows on the brother, Louis Say. To prove that *Louis Say* shares the crafty [*listig*]-view, List falsifies a passage from this author.

Herr List says on p. 484:

^a Published in 1803.—*Ed.*

^b Burdened with six children and having almost no fortune.—*Ed.*

^c A pun: "listig" means crafty, but could also be an adjective from "List".—*Ed.*

"In his" (Louis Say's) "opinion, the wealth of nations consists not in material goods and their exchange value, but in the *ability continually to produce these goods.*"

According to Herr List, the following are Louis Say's own words:

The Louis Say of Herr List:

"La richesse ne consiste pas dans les choses qui satisfont nos besoins ou nos goûts, mais dans le pouvoir d'en jouir annuellement" (*Études sur la richesse des nations*, p. 10).^a

The real Louis Say:

"Quoique la richesse ne consiste pas dans les choses qui satisfont nos besoins ou nos goûts, mais dans le *revenu* ou dans le pouvoir d'en jouir annuellement."^b

Thus, Say is not speaking of the ability to produce, but of the ability to enjoy, of the ability which provides the "income" (*revenu*) of a nation. From the disproportion between the growing productive force and the income of the nation as a whole, and of all its classes in particular, there arose precisely the theories most inimical to Herr List as, for example, those of Sismondi and Cherbuliez.

Let us now give an example of Herr List's ignorance in his verdict on the "School". He says about Ricardo (List on productive forces):

"In general, since Adam Smith, the School has been unfortunate in its researches into the nature of rent. Ricardo, and following him Mill, McCulloch and others, hold that rent is paid for the natural productivity inherent in plots of land. Ricardo based a whole system on this view.... Since he considered only English conditions, he was misled into the erroneous view that these English ploughed fields and meadows, for the apparently natural productivity of which such fine rent is paid at the present time, have been the very same ploughed fields and meadows at all times" (p. 360).

Ricardo says:

"If the surplus produce which land affords in the form of rent be an advantage, it is desirable that, every year, the machinery newly constructed should be less efficient than the old, as that would undoubtedly give a greater exchangeable value to the goods manufactured ... in the kingdom; and a rent would be paid to all those who possessed the most productive machinery." "Rent increases most rapidly, as the disposable land decreases in its productive powers. Wealth increases most rapidly in those countries ... where through agricultural improvements, productions can be multiplied without any increase in the proportional quantity of labour, and where consequently the progress of rent is slow." (Ricardo, *Principles of Political Economy*, etc. Paris, 1835, Vol. I, pp. 77 and 80-82).^c

^a "Wealth consists not in the objects which satisfy our requirements or our tastes, but in the possibility of enjoying them annually." (*Researches into the Wealth of Nations*, p. 10.)—*Ed.*

^b "Although wealth consists not in the objects which satisfy our requirements or our tastes, but in *income*, or in the possibility of enjoying it annually."—*Ed.*

^c David Ricardo, *Des principes de l'économie politique et de l'impôt*. Traduit de l'anglais par Constancio. In the manuscript Marx gives an abridged German translation of the title.—*Ed.*

According to Ricardo's theory, rent, far from being the consequence of the natural productivity inherent in the soil, is rather a consequence of the constantly increasing *unproductiveness* of the soil, a consequence of civilisation and the increasing population. According to Ricardo, as long as the most fertile land is still available in an unlimited amount, there is still no land rent. Hence rent is determined by the ratio of the population to the amount of available land.

Ricardo's theory, which serves as the theoretical basis for the whole Anti-Corn-Law League^a in England and the anti-rent movement in the free states of North America,¹⁰² had to be falsified by Herr List—assuming he had more than hearsay knowledge of it—if only because it proves how little the “free, mighty and wealthy bourgeois” are inclined to work “diligently” for [the increase of] “land rents” and to bring them [the landowners] honey from the hive.¹⁰³ Ricardo's theory of land rent is nothing but the economic expression of a life-and-death struggle of the industrial bourgeois against the landowners.

Herr List instructs us further about Ricardo as follows:

“At the present time the theory of exchange value has fallen into such impotence ... that Ricardo ... could say: ‘to determine the laws by which the yield from land is distributed between landowners, tenant-farmers and workers is the chief task of political economy’” (p. 493).

The necessary observations on this are to be made in the appropriate place.^b

[5] Herr List reaches the height of infamy in his verdict on Sismondi.

List:

“He” (Sismondi) “wants, for example, the spirit of inventiveness to be curbed and bridled” (p. xxix).

Sismondi:

“My objections are not to machines, not to inventions, not to civilisation, but only to the *modern organisation of society*, which deprives the working man of any property other than his hands, and gives him no guarantee against competition, of which he will inevitably become a victim. Suppose that all people share equally in the product of the labour in which they have participated, then every technical invention will in all possible cases be a blessing for all of them” (*Nouveaux principes d'économie politique*, Paris, 1827, t. II, p. 433).

^a Here and below Marx gives the name of the League in English.—*Ed.*

^b See pp. 284-88 of this volume.—*Ed.*

Whereas Herr List casts moral aspersions on Smith and Say he can only explain the theory of Monsieur Sismondi from the latter's *bodily* defects. He says:

"Monsieur de Sismondi sees with his bodily eyes everything red as black; it seems that his spiritual sight in matters of political economy suffers from the same defect" (p. xxix).

In order to appreciate to the full the vileness of this outburst, one must know the passage from which Herr List derived his remark. Sismondi says in his *Études sur l'économie politique*, where he speaks of the devastation of the Roman Campagna:

"The rich tints of the Roman Campagna ... even entirely escape our eyes, for which the red ray is non-existent" (p. 6). Brussels reprint, 1838 [Vol. II].

Sismondi explains this by saying: "the charm which attracts all other travellers to Rome" is destroyed for him and he "therefore has eyes that are all the more open to see the real, miserable condition of the inhabitants of the Campagna."

If de Sismondi did not see the rosy tints of the sky which magically illumine the whole (factory) industry for Herr List, he did see the *red cock* on the gables (roofs) of these factories. We shall have an opportunity later^a [to examine] List's verdict that

"Monsieur de Sismondi's writings on international trade and trade policy are without any value" [p. xxix].

Whereas Herr List explains Smith's system from the latter's personal vanity (p. 476) and the hidden English shopkeeper's mentality, and Say's system from a desire for revenge and as a business enterprise, in regard to Sismondi he descends so low as to explain Sismondi's system from the defects of his bodily constitution.

[5] 4. Herr List's Originality

It is highly characteristic of Herr List that, despite all his boasting, he has put forward *not a single proposition* that had not been advanced long before him not only by the defenders of the prohibitive system, but even by writers of the "School" invented by Herr List—if Adam Smith is the theoretical starting-point of political economy, then its real point of departure, its real school, is "civil society" [*die bürgerliche Gesellschaft*], of which the different phases of development can be accurately traced in political economy. Only the illusions and idealising language (phrases)

^a Apparently, the reference is to a part of the manuscript which is missing.—Ed.

belong to Herr List. We consider it important to give detailed proof of this to the reader and must claim his attention for this tedious labour. He will derive from it the conviction that the German bourgeois comes on the scene *post festum*, that it is just as impossible for him to advance further the political economy exhaustively developed by the English and French as it would probably be for them to contribute anything new to the development of philosophy in Germany. The German bourgeois can only add his illusions and phrases to the French and English reality. But little possible as it is for him to give a new development to political economy, it is still more impossible for him to achieve in practice a further advance of industry, of the by now almost exhausted development on the present foundations of society.

5. We therefore restrict our criticism to the theoretical part of List's book, and in fact only to his main discoveries.

What are the main propositions which Herr List has to prove? Let us inquire into the aim he wants to achieve.

1) The bourgeois wants protective tariffs from the state in order to lay his hands on state power and wealth. But since [in Germany], unlike in England and France, he does not have state power at his disposal and therefore cannot arbitrarily guide it as he likes, but has to resort to requests, it is necessary for him in relation to the state, the activity (mode of action) of which he wants to control for his own benefit, to depict his demand from it as a *concession* that he makes to the state, whereas [in reality] he demands *concessions* from the state. Therefore, through the medium of Herr List, he [the German bourgeois] proves to the state that his theory differs from all others in that he allows the state to interfere in and control industry, in that he has the highest opinion of the economic wisdom of the state, and only asks it to give full scope for its wisdom, on condition, of course, that this wisdom is limited to providing "strong" protective tariffs. His demand that the state should act in accordance with his interests is depicted by him as recognition of the state, recognition that the state has the right to interfere in the sphere of civil society.

2) The bourgeois [Bürger] wants to become *rich*, to make money; but at the same time he must come to terms with the present idealism of the German public and with his own conscience. Therefore he tries to prove that he does not strive for unrighteous material goods, but for a *spiritual essence*, for an infinite *productive force*, instead of bad, finite *exchange values*. Of course, this spiritual essence involves the circumstance that the "citizen" ["Bürger"] takes this opportunity to fill his own pockets with worldly exchange values.

[6]^a Since the bourgeois now hopes to become rich mainly through "protective tariffs", and since protective tariffs can enrich him only insofar as no longer Englishmen, but the German bourgeois himself, will *exploit his fellow-countrymen*, indeed exploit them even *more* than they were exploited from abroad, and since protective tariffs demand a sacrifice of exchange values from the consumers (chiefly from the workers who are to be superseded by machines, from all those who draw a fixed income, such as officials, recipients of land rent, etc.), the industrial bourgeois has therefore to prove that, far from hankering after material goods, he wants nothing else but the sacrifice of exchange values, material goods, for a spiritual essence. Fundamentally, therefore, it is solely a matter of *self-sacrifice*, of *asceticism*, of *Christian grandeur of the soul*. It is pure accident that *A* makes the sacrifice, but *B* puts the sacrifice in his pocket. The German bourgeois is much too unselfish to think in this connection of his private gain, which accidentally proves to be linked with this *sacrifice*. But if it should turn out that a class whose permission the German bourgeois thinks he requires for his emancipation, cannot go along with this spiritual theory, then this theory must be abandoned and, in opposition to the School [which advocates freedom of trade], precisely the theory of exchange values be brought into play.

3) Since the whole desire of the bourgeoisie amounts, in essence, to bringing the factory system to the level of "English" prosperity and making industrialism the regulator of society, i.e., to bringing about the disorganisation of society, the bourgeois has to prove that he is only concerned for the harmonisation of all social production, and for the organisation of society. He restricts foreign trade by means of protective tariffs, while agriculture, he maintains, will rapidly attain its highest prosperity owing to manufacturing industry. The organisation of society, therefore, is summed up in the factories. They are the organisers of society, and the system of competition which they bring into being is the finest confederation of society.¹⁰⁴ The organisation of society which the factory system creates is the *true organisation of society*.

The bourgeoisie is certainly right in conceiving in general its interests as identical interests, just as the *wolf* as a *wolf* has an identical interest with his fellow wolves, however much it is to the interest of each individual wolf that he and not another should pounce on the prey.

6. Finally, it is characteristic of Herr List's theory, as also of the

^a The manuscript here has a new sheet marked 2.—*Ed.*

entire German bourgeoisie, that in order to defend their desires to exploit they are compelled everywhere to resort to "socialist" phrases and thus forcibly to maintain a deception that has long been refuted. We shall show in various passages^a that Herr List's phrases, if the consequences are drawn from them, are *communistic*. We, of course, are far from accusing someone like Herr List and his German bourgeoisie of communism, but this affords us fresh proof of the internal weakness, falsity and infamous hypocrisy of the "good-natured", "idealistic" bourgeois. It proves to us that his idealism in practice is nothing but the unscrupulous, unthinking disguise of a repulsive materialism.

Finally, it is characteristic that the German bourgeoisie begins with the lie with which the French and English bourgeoisie *ends*,—after reaching a position where it is compelled to apologise for itself, to offer excuses for its existence.

7. Since Herr List distinguishes the present, ostensibly cosmopolitan, political economy from his own (national-political) economy by the former being based on exchange values and the latter on productive forces, we have to start with this theory. Furthermore, since the confederation of productive forces is supposed to represent the nation in its unity, we have also to examine this theory prior to the above-mentioned distinction. These two theories form the *real* basis of [List's] national economy as distinct from political economy.^b

* * *

It can never occur to Herr List that the real organisation of society is a soulless materialism, an individual spiritualism, individualism. It can never occur to him that the political economists have only given this social state of affairs a corresponding theoretical expression. Otherwise, he would have to direct his criticism against the present *organisation of society* instead of against the political economists. He accuses them of not having found any

^a The reference is to parts of the manuscript which either were not written or have not been found.—*Ed.*

^b This paragraph is followed in the manuscript by an incomplete third of the third page of the sixth sheet and a blank whole page (the fourth of the sixth sheet). The first chapter, which ends here, is followed immediately by a separate unnumbered sheet containing a small fragment to which the author has given no title and which is placed in this edition after three asterisks inserted by the editors.—*Ed.*

embellishing expression for a cheerless reality. Hence he wants to leave this reality everywhere just as it is and only change the expression of it. Nowhere does he criticise real society, but like a true German, he criticises the theoretical expression of this society and reproaches it for expressing the real thing and not an imaginary notion of the real thing.

The factory is transformed into a goddess, the goddess of manufacturing power.

The factory-owner is the priest of this power.^a

[7] II. *The Theory of Productive Forces
and the Theory of Exchange Values*

1) (Herr List's theory of "productive forces" is limited to the following main propositions:

a) The *causes* of wealth are something quite different from wealth itself; the force capable of creating wealth is infinitely more important than wealth itself [p. 201].)

(b) List is far from rejecting the theory of cosmopolitan economy; he is merely of the opinion that political economy also should be scientifically developed [p. 187].

c) What then is the cause of labour?... what impels these minds and these arms and hands to undertake production and what gives efficacy to these efforts? What else can it be but the *spirit* which animates the individuals, the social system which makes their activity fruitful, the natural forces the use of which is at their disposal? [p. 205].)

(6) Smith "went astray by explaining spiritual forces from material conditions" [p. 207].)

(7) "That science which teaches how *productive forces* are aroused and cultivated and how they are suppressed or destroyed" (ibid.).)

8) An example [of the distinction] between two fathers of families, Christian religion, monogamy,¹⁰⁵ etc. [pp. 208-209].

(9) "One can establish the concepts of value and capital, profit, wages, land rent, resolve them into their component parts, and speculate about what could influence their rise and fall, etc., without in so doing taking into account the political conditions of the nations" [p. 211].)

Transition.

10) Workshops and factories are the mothers and children of scientific (civic) freedom [p. 212].¹⁰⁶

11) The theory of productive and non-productive classes. The former produce exchange values, the latter produce productive forces [p. 215].

12) Foreign trade must not be judged solely from the standpoint of the theory of values [p. 216].

13) The nation must sacrifice material forces in order to acquire spiritual or social forces. Protective tariffs for raising manufacturing power [pp. 216-217].

14) "If therefore a sacrifice of *values* is made owing to protective tariffs, that sacrifice is compensated by the acquisition of productive forces, and this not only

^a Here this fragment written on a separate unnumbered sheet breaks off.—Ed.

ensures the nation an infinitely greater sum of material goods for the future, but also industrial independence in the event of war" [p. 217].

15) "In all these respects, however, the chief thing depends on the state of the society in which the individual takes shape, on whether crafts and sciences flourish" (p. 206).

2) Herr List is so much a prey to the economic prejudices of the old political economy—more so, as we shall see, than other economists of the "School"—that for him "material goods" and "exchange values" completely coincide. But exchange value is entirely independent of the specific nature of the "material goods". It is independent of both the quality and the quantity of material goods. Exchange value falls when the quantity of material goods rises, although both before and afterwards these bear the same relation to human needs. Exchange value is not connected with quality. The most useful things, such as knowledge, have no exchange value. Herr List therefore ought to have understood that the conversion of material goods into exchange values is a result of the existing social system, of the society of developed private property. The *abolition of exchange value* is the *abolition of private property* and of *private acquisition*. Herr List, on the other hand, is so naive as to admit that by means of the theory of exchange values

"one can establish the concepts of value and capital, profit, wages, land rent, resolve them into their component parts, and speculate about what could influence their rise and fall, etc., without in so doing taking into account the political conditions of the nations" (p. 211).

Hence, without taking into account the "theory of productive forces" and the "political conditions of the nations", all this can be "established". What is established thereby? Reality. What is established, for example, by wages? The life of the worker. Furthermore, it is established thereby that the worker is the slave of capital, that he is a "*commodity*", an exchange value, the higher or lower level of which, the rise or fall of which, depends on competition, on supply and demand; it is established thereby that his activity is not a free manifestation of his human life, that it is, rather, a huckstering sale of his forces, an alienation (sale) to capital of his one-sidedly developed abilities, in a word, that it is "*labour*". One is supposed to forget this. "*Labour*" is the living basis of private property, it is private property as the creative source of itself. Private property is nothing but *objectified* labour. If it is desired to strike a mortal blow at private property, one must attack it not only as a *material state of affairs*, but also as *activity*, as *labour*. It is one of the greatest misapprehensions to speak of free,

human, social labour, of labour without private property. "Labour" by its very nature is unfree, unhuman, unsocial activity, determined by private property and creating private property. Hence the abolition of private property will become a reality only when it is conceived as the abolition of "labour" (an abolition which, of course, has become possible only as a result of labour itself, that is to say, has become possible as a result of the material activity of society and which should on no account be conceived as the replacement of one category by another).¹⁰⁷ An "organisation of labour", therefore, is a contradiction. *The* best organisation that labour can be given is the present organisation, free competition, the dissolution of all its previous apparently "social" organisation.

Thus, if wages can be "established" according to the theory of values, if it is thereby "established" that man himself is an exchange value, that the overwhelming majority of people in the nations constitutes a *commodity*, which can be determined without taking "the political conditions of the nations" into account, what does all this prove but that this overwhelming majority of people in the nations does not have to take "political conditions" into account, that these are for it a sheer *illusion*, that a theory which in reality sinks to this sordid materialism of making the majority of people in the nations into a "commodity", into an "exchange value", and of subjecting this majority to the wholly material conditions of exchange value, is an infamous hypocrisy and idealistic eye-wash (embellishment), when in relation to other nations it looks down contemptuously on the bad "materialism" of "exchange values", and is itself ostensibly only concerned with "productive forces"? Furthermore, if the conditions of capital, land rent, etc., can be "established" without taking the "political conditions" of the nations into account, what does this prove but that the industrial capitalist and the recipient of land rent are guided in their actions in real life by profit, exchange values, and not by considerations about "political conditions" and "productive forces", and that their talk about civilisation and productive forces is only an embellishment of narrow-minded egoistic tendencies?

The bourgeois says: Of course, the theory of exchange values should not be undermined within the country, the majority of the nation should remain a mere "exchange value", a "commodity", one which must find its own buyer, one which is not sold, but which sells itself. In relation to you proletarians, and even in our mutual relations, we regard ourselves as exchange values, here the law of universal *huckstering* holds good. But in relation to other

nations we must interrupt the operation of this law. As a nation we cannot huckster ourselves to other nations. Since the majority of people in the nations has become subject to the laws of huckstering "without taking into account" the "political conditions of the nations", that proposition has no other meaning than the following: We German bourgeois do not want to be exploited by the English bourgeois in the way that you German proletarians are exploited by us and that we exploit one another. We do not want to subject ourselves to the same laws of exchange value as those to which we subject you. We do not want any longer to recognise outside the country the economic laws which we recognise inside the country.

[8] What then does the German philistine want? He wants to be a *bourgeois*, an exploiter, inside the country, but he wants also not to be exploited outside the country. He puffs himself up into being the "nation" in relation to foreign countries and says: I do not submit to the laws of competition; that is contrary to my national dignity; as the nation I am a being superior to huckstering.

The nationality of the worker is neither French, nor English, nor German, it is *labour, free slavery, self-huckstering*. His government is neither French, nor English, nor German, it is *capital*. His native air is neither French, nor German, nor English, it is *factory air*. The land belonging to him is neither French, nor English, nor German, it lies a few feet *below the ground*. Within the country, money is the fatherland of the industrialist. Thus, the German philistine wants the laws of competition, of exchange value, of huckstering, to lose their power at the frontier barriers of his country! He is willing to recognise the power of bourgeois society only in so far as it is in accord with *his interests*, the interests of his class! He does not want to fall victim to a power to which he wants to *sacrifice* others, and to which he sacrifices himself inside his own country! Outside the country he wants to show himself and be treated as a different being from what he is within the country and how he himself behaves within the country! He wants to leave the *cause* in existence and to abolish one of its *effects*! We shall prove to him that selling oneself out inside the country has as its necessary consequence selling out outside, that competition, which gives him his power inside the country, cannot prevent him from becoming powerless outside the country; that the state, which he subordinates to bourgeois society inside the country, cannot protect him from the action of bourgeois society outside the country.

However much the individual bourgeois fights against the others, as a *class* the bourgeois have a common interest, and this community of interest, which is directed against the proletariat inside the country, is directed against the bourgeois of other nations outside the country. This the bourgeois calls his *nationality*.

2)^a It is possible, of course, to regard industry from a completely different point of view than that of sordid huckstering interest, from which it is nowadays regarded not only by the individual merchant and the individual manufacturer, but also by the manufacturing nations and the trading nations. Industry can be regarded as a great workshop in which man first takes possession of his own forces and the forces of nature, objectifies himself and creates for himself the conditions for a human existence. When industry is regarded in this way, one *abstracts* from the *circumstances* in which it operates today, and in which it exists *as industry*; one's standpoint is *not* from within the industrial epoch, but *above* it; industry is regarded not by what it is for *man* today, but by what present-day man is for *human history*, what he is historically; it is not its present-day *existence* (not *industry* as such) that is recognised, but rather the power which industry has without knowing or willing it and which *destroys* it and creates the basis for a *human* existence. (To hold that every nation goes through this development internally would be as absurd as the idea that every nation is bound to go through the political development of France or the philosophical development of Germany. What the nations have done as nations, they have done for human society; their whole value consists only in the fact that each single nation has accomplished for the benefit of other nations one of the main historical aspects (one of the main determinations) in the framework of which mankind has accomplished its development, and therefore after industry in England, politics in France and philosophy in Germany have been developed, they have been developed for the world, and their world-historic significance, as also that of these nations, has thereby come to an end.)

This assessment of industry is then at the same time the recognition that the hour has come for it to be done away with, or for the abolition of the material and social conditions in which mankind has had to develop its abilities as a slave. For as soon as industry is no longer regarded as a huckstering interest, but as the development of man, man, instead of huckstering interest, is made

^a In the manuscript point 2 occurs twice in this chapter.—*Ed.*

the principle and what in industry could develop only in contradiction with industry itself is given the basis which is in harmony with that which is to be developed.

But the wretched individual who [in his ideas] remains within the present system, who desires only to raise it to a level which it has not yet reached in his own country, and who looks with greedy envy on another nation that has reached this level—has this wretched individual the right to see in industry anything else but huckstering interest? Has he the right to say that he is concerned only for the development of man's abilities and man's mastery of the forces of nature? For this is just as *vile* as if a slave-driver were to boast that he flourished his whip over his slaves in order that the slaves should have the pleasure of exercising their *muscular power*. The German philistine is the slave-driver who flourishes the whip of protective tariffs in order to instil in his nation the spirit of "industrial education"¹⁰⁸ and teach it to exercise its muscular powers.

The *Saint-Simon* school has given us an instructive example of what it leads to if the *productive force* that industry creates unconsciously and against its will is put to the credit of present-day industry and the two are confused: *industry* and the *forces* which industry brings into being unconsciously and without its will, but which will only become human forces, man's power, when industry is abolished. This is as much an absurdity as if the bourgeois wanted to take the credit for *his* industry creating the proletariat, and in the shape of the proletariat the power of a new world order. The forces of nature and the social forces which industry brings into being (conjures up), stand in the same relation to it as the proletariat. Today they are still the slaves of the bourgeois, and in them he sees nothing but the instruments (the bearers) of his dirty (selfish) lust for profit; tomorrow they will break their chains and reveal themselves as the bearers of human development which will blow him sky-high together with his industry, which assumes the dirty outer shell—which he regards as its essence—only until the human kernel has gained sufficient strength to burst this shell and appear in its own shape. Tomorrow they will burst the chains by which the bourgeois separates them from man and so distorts (transforms) them from a real social bond into fetters of society.

The Saint-Simon school glorified in dithyrambs the productive power of industry. The forces which industry calls into being it lumped together with industry itself, that is to say, with the present-day conditions of existence that industry gives to these

forces. We are of course far from putting the Saint-Simonists on the same level as someone like List or the German philistine. The first step towards breaking the spell cast on industry was to abstract from the conditions, the money fetters, in which the forces of industry operate today and to examine these forces in themselves. This was the first call to the people to emancipate their industry from huckstering and to understand present-day industry as a transitional epoch. The Saint-Simonists, moreover, did *not stop* at this interpretation. They went further—to attack exchange value, private property, the organisation of present-day society. They put forward association in place of competition. But they were punished for their original error. Not only did the above-mentioned confusion lead them further into the illusion of seeing the dirty bourgeois as a priest, but it also caused them [9], after the first external struggles, to fall back into the old illusion (confusion)—but now hypocritically, because precisely in the course of the struggle the contradiction of the two forces which they had confused became manifest. Their glorification of industry (of the productive forces of industry) became a glorification of the bourgeoisie, and Monsieur Michel Chevalier, Monsieur Duveyrier, Monsieur Dunoyer have pilloried themselves and the bourgeoisie in the eyes of the whole of Europe—after which the rotten eggs that history throws in their faces became transformed by the magic of the bourgeoisie into golden eggs—since the first of those named above has retained the old phrases but has endowed them with the content of the present-day bourgeois regime, the second is himself engaged in huckstering on a wholesale scale and presides over the selling-out of French newspapers, while the third has become the most rabid apologist for the present state of affairs and surpasses in inhumanity (in shamelessness) all previous English and French economists.—The German bourgeois and Herr List begin where the Saint-Simon school left off—with *hypocrisy, deception* and *phrase-mongering*.

England's industrial tyranny over the world is the domination of industry over the world. England dominates us because industry dominates us. We can free ourselves from England abroad only if we free ourselves from industry at home. We shall be able to put an end to England's domination in the sphere of competition only if we overcome competition within our borders. England has power over us because we have made industry into a power over us.

3) That the industrial social order is the best world for the bourgeois, the order most suitable for developing his "abilities" as

a bourgeois and the ability to exploit both people and nature—who will dispute this *tautology*? Who will dispute that all that is nowadays called “virtue”, individual or social virtue, is a source of profit for the bourgeois? Who will dispute that political power is a means for his enrichment, that even science and intellectual pleasures are his slaves? Who will dispute it? That for him everything is excellently [adapted^a]? That for him everything has become a means of wealth, a “productive force of wealth”?

4) Modern political economy starts out from the social system of competition. Free labour, that is to say, indirect slavery which offers itself for sale, is its principle. Its primary propositions are division of labour and the machine. And this can be given its highest development only in the factories, as modern political economy itself admits. Thus political economy today starts out from the factories as its creative principle. It presupposes present-day social conditions. Hence it does not need to expatiate on “manufacturing force”.¹⁰⁹

If the “School” made no “*scientific elaboration*”¹¹⁰ of the theory of productive forces *alongside* and *separately* from the theory of exchange values, it acted in this way because such a separation is an arbitrary abstraction, because it is impossible and cannot go beyond general phrases.

5) “The causes of wealth are something quite different from wealth itself. The force capable of creating wealth is infinitely more important than wealth itself” [List, *op. cit.*, p. 201].

Productive force appears as an entity infinitely superior to exchange value. This force claims the position of inner essence, whereas exchange value claims that of a transient phenomenon. The force appears as infinite, exchange value as finite, the former as non-material, the latter as material—and we find all these antitheses in Herr List. Hence the supernatural world of forces takes the place of the material world of exchange values. Whereas the baseness of a nation sacrificing itself for exchange values, of people being sacrificed for things, is quite obvious, forces, on the other hand, appear to be independent spiritual essences—phantoms—and pure personifications, deities, and after all one may very well demand of the German people that it should sacrifice the bad exchange values for phantoms! An exchange value, money, always seems to be an external aim, but productive force seems to be an aim which arises from my very nature, a self-aim. Thus, what I sacrifice in the form of exchange values is

^a There are one or two illegible words in the manuscript here.—Ed.

something external to me; what I gain in the form of productive forces is my self-acquisition.—That is how it *seems* if one is satisfied with a word or, like an idealising German, does not worry about the dirty reality which lies behind this grandiloquent word.

In order to destroy the mystical radiance which transfigures “productive force”, one has only to consult any book of statistics. There one reads about water-power, steam-power, manpower, horse-power. All these are “productive forces”. Is it a high appreciation of man for him to figure as a “force” alongside horses, steam and water?

Under the present system, if a crooked spine, twisted limbs, a one-sided development and strengthening of certain muscles, etc., make you more capable of working (more productive), then your crooked spine, your twisted limbs, your one-sided muscular movement are a productive force. If your intellectual vacuity is more productive than your abundant intellectual activity, then your intellectual vacuity is a productive force, etc., etc. If the monotony of an occupation makes you better suited for that occupation, then monotony is a productive force.

Is the bourgeois, the factory-owner, at all concerned for the worker developing all his abilities, exercising his productive capacities, fulfilling himself as a human being, and thereby at the same time fulfilling his human nature?

We will leave it to the English *Pindar* of the factory system, Mr. Ure, to reply to this question:

“It is, in fact, the constant aim and tendency of every improvement in machinery to supersede human labour altogether, or to diminish its cost, by substituting the industry of women and children for that of men; or that of ordinary labourers, for trained artisans” (*Philosophie des manufactures, etc.*, Paris, 1836, t. I, p. 34). “By the infirmity of human nature it happens, that the more skilful the workman, the more self-willed and intractable he is apt to become, and, of course, the less fit a component of a *mechanical* system ... therefore [the main point] of the modern manufacturer is, through the union of capital and science, to reduce the task of his work-people to the exercise of vigilance and dexterity, etc.” (loc. cit., t. I, p. 30).

Force, Productive Force, Causes

“The causes of wealth are something quite different from wealth itself.”

But if the effect is different from the cause, must not the nature of the effect be contained already in the cause? The cause must already carry with it the determining feature that is manifested later in the effect. Herr List's philosophy goes as far as knowing that cause and effect are “something quite different”.

[“The force capable of creating wealth is infinitely more important than wealth itself.”]

It is a fine recognition of man that degrades him to a “*force*” capable of creating wealth! The bourgeois sees in the proletarian not a *human being*, but a *force* capable of creating wealth, a force which moreover he can then compare with other productive forces—an animal, a machine—and if the comparison proves unfavourable to man, the force of which man is the bearer must give place to the force of which the bearer is an animal or a machine, although in that case man still has (enjoys) the honour of figuring as a “productive force”.

If I characterise man as an “exchange value”, this expression already implies that social conditions have transformed him into a “thing”. If I treat him as a “productive force”, I am putting in the place of the real subject a different subject, I am substituting another person for him, and he now exists only as a cause of wealth.

The whole of human society becomes merely a machine for the creation of wealth.

The cause is in no way superior to the *effect*. The effect is merely the openly *manifested* cause.

List pretends that he is everywhere interested in productive forces for their own sake, quite apart from bad exchange values.

Some light is already thrown for us on the essence of the present-day “productive forces” by the fact that in the present state of affairs productive force consists not only in, for instance, making man’s labour more efficient or natural and social forces more effective, but just as much in making labour cheaper or *more unproductive* for the worker. Hence productive force is from the outset determined by exchange value. It is just as much an increase of....^a

[III. From Chapter Three]

[The Problem of Land Rent]

...[22] land rent disappears. These higher grain prices—since the worker always consumes a certain amount of grain, however dear it may be, and therefore his nominal wage increases even when in reality it decreases—must be deducted from the profits of Messrs. the industrialists; Ricardo is wise enough to assume that

^a Here the text occupying the fourth page of the ninth manuscript sheet ends. Sheets 10-21 have not come down to us. These missing sheets should contain the end of Chapter II and the beginning of Chapter III.—Ed.

wages cannot be depressed further. Hence, when there is a rise in the price of grain, there follows a reduction in profits and an increase in wages, without the latter increasing in reality. However, the increase in the price of grain raises the production costs of the industrialists, thereby making accumulation and competition more difficult for them, in a word, cripples the *productive force* of the country. Therefore the bad "exchange value", which falls in the form of land rent into the pockets of the landowners without *any advantage* (to the greatest detriment) to the country's productive force, must in one way or another be *sacrificed* to the general good—by free trade in grain, by shifting all taxes on to land rent, or by outright appropriation of land rent, i.e. of landed property, by the state (this conclusion has been drawn by, among others, [James] Mill, Hilditch and Cherbuliez).

Herr List, of course, did not dare to tell the German landed aristocracy of this frightening consequence of industrial productive force for landed property. Hence he berates Ricardo, who disclosed such unpleasant truths, and ascribes to him the opposite view, that of the physiocrats, according to which land rent is nothing but a proof of the natural productive force of land, and falsifies him.

List:

"In general, since Adam Smith, the School has been unfortunate in its researches into the nature of rent. Ricardo, and following him Mill, McCulloch and others, hold that rent is paid for the *natural productivity* inherent in plots of land. Ricardo based a whole system on this view.... Since he considered only English conditions, he was misled into the erroneous view that these English ploughed fields and meadows, for the apparently natural productivity of which such fine rent is paid at the present time, have been the very same ploughed fields and meadows at all times" (p. 360).

Ricardo:

"If the surplus produce which land affords in the form of rent be an advantage, it is desirable that, every year, the machinery newly constructed should be *less efficient* than the old, as that would undoubtedly give a greater exchangeable value to the goods manufactured ... in the kingdom; and a rent would be paid to all those who possessed the most productive machinery" (*Des principes de l'économie politique*, etc., Paris, 1835, t. I, p. 77).

"Wealth increases most rapidly in those countries ... where through agricultural *improvements*, productions can be multiplied without any increase in the proportional quantity of labour, and where consequently the progress of rent is only gradual" (p. 81 et seq.).^a

^a Marx quoted these passages from List and Ricardo above (see pp. 12-13). In repeating the quotation from Ricardo, Marx translated the end differently.—Ed.

Hence, in relation to the higher nobility, Herr List does not dare to keep up his shadow play with “productive forces”. He wants to lure this nobility with “exchange values” and therefore slanders the School of Ricardo, who neither judges land rent from the standpoint of productive force, nor judges the latter from the standpoint of the modern large-scale factory system.

Thus Herr List is doubly a liar. Nevertheless we must not do Herr List an injustice in this matter. In one large Württemberg factory (Köchlin, if we are not mistaken) the King of Württemberg^a himself participates, having invested a large sum in it. In the Württemberg factories, and to a greater or lesser extent in those of Baden as well, the landed nobility plays an important role by holding shares. Here, therefore, the nobility participates monetarily in the “manufacturing force”, not as landowners but as bourgeois and manufacturers themselves, and^b...

...[24] “productive forces” and the “continuity and permanence of production” of a whole generation arises—the disguised Communist List teaches this as well—and is therefore also a hereditary feature of the generation *and not* of Messrs. the industrialists (see, for example, Bray¹¹¹).

In England, high land rents were ensured for the landlords only through ruining the tenant-farmers and reducing the farm labourers to the level (of real beggars) of an Irish poverty. All this in spite of the various Corn Laws, and apart from the fact that the landlords in receipt of rent were often compelled to allow the tenant-farmers a remission of one-third to one-half of the rent. Since 1815, three various Corn Laws have been passed to improve the position of the tenant-farmers and encourage them. During this period, five parliamentary committees were appointed to establish the existence of the distressed state of agriculture and to investigate its causes. The continual ruin of the tenant-farmers, on the one hand, in spite of the total (full) exploitation of the farm labourers and the utmost possible reduction of their wages, and, on the other hand, the frequent necessity for the landowners to forego part of the rent, are themselves proof that not even in England—in spite of all its manufacturing industry—have high land rents been produced. For, from the economic point of view, it cannot be regarded as land rent when part of the costs of production,¹¹² by means of agreements and other circumstances lying outside the sphere of economics, is drawn into the pocket

^a The reference is to Wilhelm I, King of Württemberg.—*Ed.*

^b The text breaks off here, as the 23rd manuscript sheet is missing.—*Ed.*

of the landlord instead of that of the tenant-farmer. If the landowner himself cultivated his land, he would certainly take care not to enter part of the ordinary profit of working capital under the heading "land rent".

Writers of the 16th, 17th and even the first two-thirds of the 18th century, still regarded the export of grain by England as the main source of its wealth. The old English industry—the main branch of which was the woollen industry, and the less important branches of which processed mostly materials supplied by the main branch itself—was wholly *subordinated* to agriculture. Its chief raw material was the product of English agriculture. As a matter of course, therefore, this industry promoted agriculture. Later, when the factory system proper developed, already in a short space of time the necessity for customs duties on corn began to be felt. But they remained nominal. The rapid growth of the population, the abundance of fertile land which had yet to be made cultivable, the inventions, at first, of course, raised also the level of agriculture. It especially profited from the war against Napoleon, which established a regular system of prohibition for it. But 1815 revealed how little the "productive force" of agriculture had really increased. A general outcry arose among landowners and tenant-farmers, and the present Corn Laws were enacted.¹¹³ It is in the nature of modern factory industry, firstly, to estrange industry from the native soil since it processes mainly raw materials from abroad and bases itself on foreign trade. It is in the nature of this industry [secondly] to cause the population to grow in a ratio which, under the system of private property, does not correspond to the exploitation of the soil. It is furthermore in its nature, if it gives rise to Corn Laws, as it has always done in Europe up to now, to convert the peasants into the very poorest proletarians through high rents and factory methods of exploiting landed property. If, on the other hand, it succeeds in preventing the passing of Corn Laws, it puts a mass of land out of cultivation, subjects the price of grain to external contingencies, and completely alienates the country [*enttäussert das Land völlig*] by making its most essential means of subsistence dependent on trade, which undermines *landed property* as an independent source of property. This last feature is the aim of the Anti-Corn-Law League in England and the anti-rent movement in North America, for *land rent* is the economic expression of *landed property*. Therefore the Tories continually draw attention to the danger of England being made dependent for its means of subsistence on, for example, *Russia*.

Large-scale factory industry—of course, countries like North America which have a huge amount of land still to be brought under cultivation (and protective duties by no means increase the amount of land) do not count here—certainly has a tendency to *paralyse* the productive force of the soil, as soon as its exploitation has reached a certain level, just as, on the other hand, the conduct of agriculture on factory lines has a tendency to oust people and to convert all the land—of course, within certain limits—into pasture, so that cattle take the place of people.

Ricardo's theory of land rent, in a few words, amounts to the following:

Land rent adds nothing to the productivity of land. On the contrary, rising land rent is proof that the productive force of land is falling. It is in fact determined by the relation of the area of land suitable for cultivation to the number of the population and to the level of civilisation in general. The price of grain is determined by the cost of production on the least fertile land that has to be cultivated because of the needs of the population. If land of a poorer quality has to be resorted to, or if amounts of capital have to be applied with a lesser yield to the same piece of land, then the owner of the most fertile land sells his product as dearly as the peasant who has the worst. He pockets the difference between the cost of production on the best land and that on the most infertile. Thus, the less productive the land that is put into cultivation, or the less the yield from second and third amounts of capital applied to the same piece of land, in short, the more the relative productive force of the land decreases, the higher the land rent rises. The land made fruitful everywhere....^a

IV. Herr List and Ferrier^b

The book by *Ferrier, sous-inspecteur des douanes*^c under Napoleon, *Du gouvernement considéré dans ses rapports avec le commerce*, Paris, 1805, is the work from which Herr List copied. In List's book there is not a single basic idea that has not been stated, and better stated, in Ferrier's book.

Ferrier was one of Napoleon's officials. He defended the Continental System. He does not speak about the *system of protection*

^a The text of the fourth page of the last numbered sheet in Marx's manuscript breaks off here.—*Ed.*

^b This chapter of the manuscript occupies four pages of an unnumbered sheet.—*Ed.*

^c Sub-inspector of customs.—*Ed.*

but about the *prohibitive system*. He is far from making phrases about a *union* of all nations or *eternal peace* within the country. Nor, of course, has he any socialist phrases yet. We shall give a short extract from his book in order to throw light on this secret source of List's wisdom. Whereas Herr List falsifies *Louis Say* so as to be able to present him as his ally, nowhere, on the other hand, does he quote Ferrier, whom he has copied out everywhere. He wanted to lead the reader on a false trail.

We have already quoted Ferrier's judgment on Smith.^a Ferrier still adheres to the old prohibitive system, but more honestly.

State Intervention. The Thrift of Nations

"There is a thrift and an extravagance (*prodigalité*) of nations, but a nation is extravagant or thrifty only in its relations with *other peoples*" (p. 143).

"It is untrue that the most profitable use of capital for the person who owns it is necessarily also the most profitable for industry.... The interest of the capitalists, far from coinciding with the general interest, is almost always in opposition to it" (pp. 168, 169).

"There is a thrift of nations, but it is very different from Smith's.... It consists in buying foreign products only in so far as they can be paid for by one's own products. Sometimes it consists in completely foregoing them" (pp. [174], 175).

Productive Forces and Exchange Value

"The principles of the thrift of nations which Smith laid down (set) are all based on the distinction between productive and unproductive labour.... This distinction is essentially incorrect. There is no unproductive labour" (p. 141).

"He" (Garnier) "saw in *silver* only the *value* of the silver, without thinking about its *property*, as silver, to make *circulation* more active and, consequently, to multiply the products of labour" (p. 18). "Therefore, when governments seek to prevent the outflow of money ... this is not on account of its *value* ..., but because the *value* that is received in exchange for it cannot have the same effect in circulation ..., because it cannot cause a new creation at each transition" (pp. 22, 23). "The word 'wealth', as applied to money that circulates as money, must be understood from the acts of reproduction that it facilitates ..., and in this sense a country enriches itself when it increases the quantity of its money, because with this increase of money all the *productive forces* of labour increase" (p. 71). "When it is said that a country can lay out (expend) an income of two milliards, ... what is meant is that the country has the *means*, with the aid of these two milliards, to support a circulation 10, 20, 30 times greater in values or, what is the same thing, that it can *produce* these values. It is these *means of production*, which the country owes to money, that are called wealth" (p. 22).

You see: Ferrier distinguishes the *exchange value* possessed by money from the *productive force* of money. Apart from the fact that

^a See pp. 268-69 of this volume.—Ed.

in general he calls the means of production wealth, there was in any case nothing easier than to apply to all capital the distinction which he drew between the *value* and the *productive force* of money.

But Ferrier goes still farther, he defends the prohibitive system, in general on the grounds that it safeguards for the nations their *means of production*:

"Thus prohibitions are useful whenever they make it easier for nations to acquire the *means* to satisfy their needs.... I compare a nation which with its money buys abroad commodities it can make itself, although of poorer quality, with a gardener who, dissatisfied with the fruit he gathers, would buy juicier fruits from his neighbours, giving them his gardening tools in exchange" (p. 288). "Foreign trade is always profitable when it endeavours to enlarge *productive capital*. It is unprofitable when instead of multiplying capital it demands its alienation" (pp. 395-96).

Agriculture, Manufacture, Trade

"Should a government promote trade and factories in preference to agriculture? This question is still one of those on which governments and writers cannot agree" (p. 73).

"The progress of industry and trade is bound up with that of civilisation, the arts, the sciences, and shipping. A government, which can do almost nothing for agriculture, can do almost everything for industry. If a nation has habits or tastes capable of holding back its development, the government must use all its means to combat them" (p. 84).

"The true means of encouraging agriculture is the encouragement of manufactures" (p. 225). "Its domain" (that of industry, by which M. Ferrier means manufacturing industry) "is not limited, whether in its successes or in its means of improvement.... Far-reaching like imagination, and like imagination mobile and fruitful, its creative power has no limits other than those of the human mind itself, from which it daily receives fresh *eclat*" (p. 85).

"The true source of wealth for an agricultural-manufacturing nation is *reproduction* and labour. It must apply its capital to this end and be concerned to transport and sell its own commodities before it can engage in transporting and selling those of other nations" (p. 186). "This growth of man's wealth is to be ascribed primarily to internal trade, which long preceded the exchange of nation with nation" (p. 145). "According to Smith himself, of two capitals, one of which is invested in home trade and the other in foreign trade, the first gives the country's industry 24 times greater support and encouragement" (p. [145]-146).

But M. Ferrier at least understands that home trade cannot exist without foreign trade (*loc. cit.*).

"If some private persons import from England 50,000 pieces of velvet, they will make a great deal of money by this transaction and will be very well able to market their wares. But they reduce the home industry and put 10,000 workers out of work" (p. 170; cf. pp. 155, 156).

Like List, M. Ferrier draws attention to the difference between towns engaged in manufacture and trade and towns which only

consume (p. 91), but in so doing he is at least honest enough to refer to Smith himself. He refers to the *Methuen Treaty*,¹¹⁴ so dear to Herr List, and the subtlety of Smith's judgment of that treaty (p. 159). We have already seen how in general his judgment of Smith coincides almost word for word with List's. See also on *carrying trade* (p. 186 et passim).

The difference between Ferrier and List is that the former writes in support of an undertaking of world-historic importance—the Continental System, whereas the latter writes in support of a petty, weak-minded bourgeoisie.

The reader will admit that the whole of Herr List is contained in *nuce* in the extracts quoted from Ferrier. If, moreover, one adds the phrases he borrows from the development of political economy since Ferrier, then all that remains as his share is empty *idealising*, the productive force of which consists in words—and the clever hypocrisy of the German bourgeois striving for domination.

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Frederick Engels

THE CONDITION
OF THE WORKING-CLASS
IN ENGLAND

FROM PERSONAL OBSERVATION
AND AUTHENTIC SOURCES¹¹⁵

Written September 1844 to March 1845

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Signed: *Frederick Engels*

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TO THE WORKING-CLASSES OF GREAT-BRITAIN¹¹⁶

Working Men!

To you I dedicate a work, in which I have tried to lay before my German Countrymen a faithful picture of your condition, of your sufferings and struggles, of your hopes and prospects. I have lived long enough amidst you to know something about your circumstances; I have devoted to their knowledge my most serious attention, I have studied the various official and non-official documents as far as I was able to get hold of them—I have not been satisfied with this, I wanted more than a mere *abstract* knowledge of-my subject, I wanted to see you in your own homes, to observe you in your every-day life, to chat with you on your condition and grievances, to witness your struggles against the social and political power of your oppressors. I have done so: I forsook the company and the dinner-parties, the port-wine and champaign of the middle-classes, and devoted my leisure-hours almost exclusively to the intercourse with plain Working-Men; I am both glad and proud of having done so. Glad, because thus I was induced to spend many a happy hour in obtaining a knowledge of the realities of life—many an hour, which else would have been wasted in fashionable talk and tiresome etiquette; proud, because thus I got an opportunity of doing justice to an oppressed and calumniated class of men who with all their faults and under all the disadvantages of their situation, yet command the respect of every one but an English money-monger; proud, too, because thus I was placed in a position to save the English people from the growing contempt which on the Continent has

been the necessary consequence of the brutally selfish policy and general behaviour of your ruling middle-class.

Having, at the same time, ample opportunity to watch the middle-classes, your opponents, I soon came to the conclusion that you are right, perfectly right in expecting no support whatever from them. Their interest is diametrically opposed to yours, though they always will try to maintain the contrary and to make you believe in their most hearty sympathy with your fates. Their doings give them the lie. I hope to have collected more than sufficient evidence of the fact, that—be their words what they please—the middle-classes intend in reality nothing else but to enrich themselves by your labour while they can sell its produce, and to abandon you to starvation as soon as they cannot make a profit by this indirect trade in human flesh. What have they done to prove their professed good-will towards you? Have they ever paid any serious attention to your grievances? Have they done more than paying the expenses of half-a-dozen commissions of inquiry, whose voluminous reports are damned to ever-lasting slumber among heaps of waste paper on the shelves of the Home Office? Have they even done as much as to compile from those rotting blue-books a single readable book from which everybody might easily get some information on the condition of the great majority of “free-born Britons”? Not they indeed, those are things they do not like to speak of—they have left it to a foreigner to inform the civilised world of the degrading situation you have to live in.

A foreigner to *them*, not to *you*, I hope. Though my English may not be pure, yet, I hope, you will find it *plain* English. No working-man in England—nor in France either, by-the-by—ever treated me as a foreigner. With the greatest pleasure I observed you to be free from that blasting curse, national prejudice and national pride, which after all means nothing but *wholesale selfishness*—I observed you to sympathise with every one who earnestly applies his powers to human progress—may he be an Englishman or not—to admire every thing great and good, whether nursed on your native soil or not—I found you to be more than mere *Englishmen*, members of a single, isolated nation, I found you to be *Men*, members of the great and universal family of Mankind, who know their interest and that of all the human race to be the same. And as such, as members of this Family of “One and Indivisible” Mankind, as Human Beings in the most emphatical meaning of the word, as such I, and many others on the Continent, hail your progress in every direction and wish you speedy success.



Cover of the first edition of *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*

Go on then, as you have done hitherto. Much remains to be undergone; be firm, be undaunted—your success is certain, and no step you will have to take in your onward march, will be lost to our common cause, the cause of Humanity!

Barmen (Rhenan Prussia)
March 15th, 1845

Frederick Engels

Preface¹¹⁷

The book prefaced by the following pages treats of a subject which I originally intended to deal with in a single chapter of a more comprehensive work on the social history of England.¹¹⁸ However, the importance of that subject soon made it necessary for me to investigate it separately.

The condition of the working-class is the real basis and point of departure of all social movements of the present because it is the highest and most unconcealed pinnacle of the social misery existing in our day. French and German working-class Communism are its direct, Fourierism and English Socialism, as well as the Communism of the German educated bourgeoisie, are its indirect products. A knowledge of proletarian conditions is absolutely necessary to be able to provide solid ground for socialist theories, on the one hand, and for judgments about their right to exist, on the other; and to put an end to all sentimental dreams and fancies pro and con. But proletarian conditions exist in their *classical form*, in their perfection, only in the British Empire, particularly in England proper. Besides, only in England has the necessary material been so completely collected and put on record by official enquiries as is essential for any in the least exhaustive presentation of the subject.

Twenty-one months I had the opportunity to become acquainted with the English proletariat, its strivings, its sorrows and its joys, to see them from near, from personal observation and personal intercourse, and at the same time to supplement my observations by recourse to the requisite authentic sources. What I have seen, heard and read has been worked up in the present book. I am prepared to see not only my standpoint attacked in

many quarters but also the facts I have cited, particularly when the book gets into the hands of the English. I know equally well that here and there I may be proved wrong in some particular of no importance, something that in view of the comprehensive nature of the subject and its far-reaching assumptions even an Englishman might be unable to avoid; so much the more so since even in England there exists as yet not a single piece of writing which, like mine, takes up *all* the workers. But without a moment's hesitation I challenge the English bourgeoisie to prove that even in a single instance of any consequence for the exposition of my point of view as a whole I have been guilty of any inaccuracy, and to prove it by data as authentic as mine.

A description of the classical form which the conditions of existence of the proletariat have assumed in Britain is very important, particularly for Germany and precisely at the present moment. German Socialism and Communism have proceeded, more than any other, from theoretical premises; we German theoreticians still knew much too little of the real world to be driven directly by the real relations to reforms of this "bad reality". At any rate almost none of the avowed champions of such reforms arrived at Communism otherwise than by way of the Feuerbachian dissolution of Hegelian speculation. The real conditions of the life of the proletariat are so little known among us that even the well-meaning "societies for the uplift of the working-classes",¹¹⁹ in which our bourgeoisie is now mistreating the social question, constantly start out from the most ridiculous and preposterous judgments concerning the condition of the workers. We Germans more than anybody else stand in need of a knowledge of the facts concerning this question. And while the conditions of existence of Germany's proletariat have not assumed the classical form that they have in England, we nevertheless have, at bottom, the same social order, which sooner or later must necessarily reach the same degree of acuteness as it has already attained across the North Sea, unless the intelligence of the nation brings about in time the adoption of measures that will provide a new basis for the whole social system. The root-causes whose effect in England has been the misery and oppression of the proletariat exist also in Germany and in the long run must engender the same results. In the meantime, however, the established fact of wretched conditions in *England* will impel us to establish also the fact of wretched conditions in *Germany* and will provide us with a yardstick wherewith to measure their extent and the magnitude of the danger—brought to light by the Silesian and Bohemian

disturbances¹²⁰—which directly threatens the tranquillity of Germany from that quarter.

Finally, there are still two remarks I wish to make. Firstly, that I have used the word *Mittelklasse* all along in the sense of the English word middle-class (or middle-classes, as is said almost always). Like the French word *bourgeoisie* it means the possessing class, specifically that possessing class which is differentiated from the so-called aristocracy—the class which in France and England is directly and in Germany, figuring as “public opinion”, indirectly in possession of political power. Similarly, I have continually used the expressions working-men (*Arbeiter*) and proletarians, working-class, propertyless class and proletariat as equivalents. Secondly, that in the case of most of the quotations I have indicated the party to which the respective authors belong, because in nearly every instance the Liberals try to emphasise the distress in the rural areas and to argue away that which exists in the factory districts, while the Conservatives, conversely, acknowledge the misery in the factory districts but disclaim any knowledge of it in the agricultural areas. For the same reason, whenever I lacked official documents for describing the condition of the industrial workers, I always preferred to present proof from *Liberal* sources in order to defeat the liberal bourgeoisie by casting their own words in their teeth. I cited Tories or Chartists in my support only when I could confirm their correctness from personal observation or was convinced of the truthfulness of the facts quoted because of the personal or literary reputation of the authorities I referred to.

Barmen, March 15, 1845

F. Engels

TO THE WORKING CLASSES

OF

GREAT-BRITAIN.

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To you I dedicate a work, in which I have tried to lay before my German Countrymen a faithful picture of your condition, of your sufferings and struggles, of your hopes and prospects. I have lived long enough amidst you to know something about your circumstances; I have devoted to their knowledge my most serious attention, I have studied the various official and non-official documents as far as I was able to get hold of them — I have not been satisfied with this, I wanted more than a mere *abstract* knowledge of my subject, I wanted to see you in your own homes, to observe you in your every-day life, to chat with you on your condition and grievances, to witness your struggles against the social and political power of your oppressors. I have done so: I forsook the company and the dinner-parties, the port-wine and champaign of the middle-classes, and devoted my leisure-hours almost exclusively to the intercourse with plain Working Men; I am both glad and proud of having done so. Glad, because thus I was induced to spend many a happy hour in obtaining a knowledge of the realities of life — many an hour,

First page of Engels' address
To the Working-Classes of Great-Britain

INTRODUCTION

The history of the proletariat^a in England begins with the second half of the last century, with the invention of the steam-engine and of machinery for working cotton. These inventions gave rise, as is well known, to an industrial revolution, a revolution which altered the whole civil society; one, the historical importance of which is only now beginning to be recognised. England is the classic soil of this transformation, which was all the mightier, the more silently it proceeded; and England is, therefore, the classic land of its chief product also, the proletariat. Only in England can the proletariat be studied in all its relations and from all sides.

We have not, here and now, to deal with the history of this revolution, nor with its vast importance for the present and the future. Such a delineation must be reserved for a future, more comprehensive work. For the moment, we must limit ourselves to the little that is necessary for understanding the facts that follow, for comprehending the present state of the English proletariat.

Before the introduction of machinery, the spinning and weaving of raw materials was carried on in the working-man's home. Wife and daughter spun the yarn that the father wove or that they sold, if he did not work it up himself. These weaver families lived in the country in the neighbourhood of the towns, and could get on fairly well with their wages, because the home market was almost the only one,^b and the crushing power of competition that came

^a The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "the working-class".—*Ed.*

^b The German editions of 1845 and 1892 enlarge on this phrase: "because the home market was still the decisive one as regards the demand for fabrics and almost the only one."—*Ed.*

later, with the conquest of foreign markets and the extension of trade, did not yet press upon wages. There was, further, a constant increase in the demand for the home market, keeping pace with the slow increase in population and employing all the workers; and there was also the impossibility of vigorous competition of the workers among themselves, consequent upon the rural dispersion of their homes. So it was that the weaver was usually in a position to lay by something, and rent a little piece of land, that he cultivated in his leisure hours, of which he had as many as he chose to take, since he could weave whenever and as long as he pleased. True, he was a bad farmer and managed his land inefficiently, often obtaining but poor crops; nevertheless, he was no proletarian, he had a stake in the country, he was permanently settled, and stood one step higher in society than the English workman of today.

So the workers vegetated throughout a passably comfortable existence, leading a righteous and peaceful life in all piety and probity; and their material position was far better than that of their successors. They did not need to overwork; they did no more than they chose to do, and yet earned what they needed. They had leisure for healthful work in garden or field, work which, in itself, was recreation for them, and they could take part besides in the recreations and games of their neighbours, and all these games—bowling, cricket,^a football, etc., contributed to their physical health and vigour. They were, for the most part, strong, well-built people, in whose physique little or no difference from that of their peasant neighbours was discoverable. Their children grew up in the fresh country air, and, if they could help their parents at work, it was only occasionally; while of eight or twelve hours work for them there was no question.

What the moral and intellectual character of this class was may be guessed. Shut off from the towns, which they never entered, their yarn and woven stuff being delivered to travelling agents for payment of wages—so shut off that old people who lived quite in the neighbourhood of the town never went thither until they were robbed of their trade by the introduction of machinery and obliged to look about them in the towns for work—the weavers stood upon the moral and intellectual plane of the yeomen with whom they were usually immediately connected through their little holdings. They regarded their squire, the greatest landholder of

^a The word "cricket" does not occur in the German editions of 1845 and 1892.—*Ed.*

the region, as their natural superior; they asked advice of him, laid their small disputes before him for settlement, and gave him all honour, as this patriarchal relation involved. They were "respectable" people, good husbands and fathers, led moral lives because they had no temptation to be immoral, there being no groggeries or low houses in their vicinity, and because the host, at whose inn they now and then quenched their thirst, was also a respectable man, usually a large tenant-farmer who took pride in his good order, good beer, and early hours. They had their children the whole day at home, and brought them up in obedience and the fear of God; the patriarchal relationship remained undisturbed so long as the children were unmarried. The young people grew up in idyllic simplicity and intimacy with their playmates until they married; and even though sexual intercourse before marriage almost unfailingly took place, this happened only when the moral obligation of marriage was recognised on both sides, and a subsequent wedding made everything good. In short, the English industrial workers of those days lived and thought after the fashion still to be found here and there in Germany, in retirement and seclusion, without mental activity and without violent fluctuations in their position in life. They could rarely read and far more rarely write; went regularly to church, never talked politics, never conspired, never thought, delighted in physical exercises, listened with inherited reverence when the Bible was read, and were, in their unquestioning humility, exceedingly well-disposed towards the "superior" classes. But intellectually, they were dead; lived only for their petty, private interest, for their looms and gardens, and knew nothing of the mighty movement which, beyond their horizon, was sweeping through mankind. They were comfortable in their silent vegetation, and but for the industrial revolution they would never have emerged from this existence, which, cosily romantic as it was, was nevertheless not worthy of human beings. In truth, they were not human beings; they were merely toiling machines in the service of the few aristocrats who had guided history down to that time. The industrial revolution has simply carried this out to its logical end by making the workers machines pure and simple, taking from them the last trace of independent activity, and so forcing them to think and demand a position worthy of men. As in France politics, so in England manufacture and the movement of civil society in general drew into the whirl of history the last classes which had remained sunk in apathetic indifference to the universal interests of mankind.

The first invention which gave rise to a radical change in the state of the English workers was the jenny, invented in the year 1764 by a weaver, James Hargreaves, of Stanhill,^a near Blackburn, in North Lancashire. This machine was the rough beginning of the later invented mule, and was moved by hand. Instead of one spindle like the ordinary spinning-wheel, it carried sixteen or eighteen manipulated by a single workman. This invention made it possible to deliver more yarn than heretofore. Whereas, though one weaver had employed three spinners, there had never been enough yarn, and the weaver had often been obliged to wait for it, there was now more yarn to be had than could be woven by the available workers. The demand for woven goods, already increasing, rose yet more in consequence of the cheapness of these goods, which cheapness, in turn, was the outcome of the diminished cost of producing the yarn. More weavers were needed, and weavers' wages rose. Now that the weaver could earn more at his loom, he gradually abandoned his farming, and gave his whole time to weaving. At that time a family of four grown persons and two children (who were set to spooling)^c could earn, with eight^b hours' daily work, four pounds sterling^c in a week, and often more if trade was good and work pressed. It happened often enough that a single weaver earned two pounds a week at his loom. By degrees the class of farming weavers wholly disappeared, and was merged in the newly arising class of weavers who lived wholly upon wages, had no property whatever, not even the pretended property of a holding, and so became working-men,^d proletarians. Moreover, the old relation between spinner and weaver was destroyed. Hitherto, so far as this had been possible, yarn had been spun and woven under one roof. Now that the jenny as well as the loom required a strong hand, men began to spin, and whole families lived by spinning, while others laid the antiquated, superseded spinning-wheel aside; and, if they had not means of purchasing a jenny, were forced to live upon the wages of the father alone. Thus began with spinning and weaving that division of labour which has since been so infinitely perfected.

^a In the editions which appeared during Engels' lifetime the name of this place was given wrongly as Standhill (as in Ure's book *The Cotton Manufacture of Great Britain*).—*Ed.*

^b The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "ten".—*Ed.*

^c After this the German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "(28 Prussian talers)".—*Ed.*

^d The German editions of 1845 and 1892 give this word in English in brackets after the word "proletarians".—*Ed.*

While the industrial proletariat was thus developing with the first still very imperfect machine, the same machine gave rise to the agricultural proletariat. There had, hitherto, been a vast number of small landowners, yeomen, who had vegetated in the same unthinking quiet as their neighbours, the farming weavers. They cultivated their scraps of land quite after the ancient and inefficient fashion of their ancestors, and opposed every change with the obstinacy peculiar to such creatures of habit, after remaining stationary from generation to generation. Among them were many small holders also, not tenants in the present sense of the word, but people who had their land handed down from their fathers, either by hereditary lease, or by force of ancient custom, and had hitherto held it as securely as if it had actually been their own property. When the industrial workers withdrew from agriculture, a great number of small holdings fell idle, and upon these the new class of large tenants established themselves, tenants-at-will,^a holding fifty, one hundred, two hundred or more acres,^b liable to be turned out at the end of the year, but able by improved tillage and larger farming to increase the yield of the land. They could sell their produce more cheaply than the yeoman, for whom nothing remained when his farm no longer supported him but to sell it, procure a jenny or a loom, or take service as an agricultural labourer in the employ of a large farmer. His inherited slowness and the inefficient methods of cultivation bequeathed by his ancestors, and above which he could not rise, left him no alternative when forced to compete with men who managed their holdings on sounder principles and with all the advantages bestowed by farming on a large scale and the investment of capital for the improvement of the soil.

Meanwhile, the industrial movement did not stop here. Single capitalists began to set up spinning jennies in great buildings and to use water-power for driving them, so placing themselves in a position to diminish the number of workers, and sell their yarn more cheaply than single spinners could do who moved their own machines by hand. There were constant improvements in the jenny, so that machines continually became antiquated, and must be altered or even laid aside; and though the capitalists could hold out by the application of water-power even with the old machinery, for the single spinner this was impossible. And the factory

^a The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have this expression in English.—*Ed.*

^b The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "Morgen" instead of "acres". One Morgen is rather less than 2/3 of an acre.—*Ed.*

system, the beginning of which was thus made, received a fresh extension in 1767, through the spinning throstle invented by Richard Arkwright, a barber, in Preston, in North Lancashire. After the steam-engine, this is the most important mechanical invention of the 18th century.^a It was calculated from the beginning for mechanical motive power, and was based upon wholly new principles. By the combination of the peculiarities of the jenny and throstle, Samuel Crompton, of Firwood, Lancashire, contrived the mule in 1785,^b and as Arkwright invented the carding engine, and preparatory (“slubbing and roving”)^c frames about the same time, the factory system became the prevailing one for the spinning of cotton. By means of trifling modifications these machines were gradually adapted to the spinning^d of flax, and so to the superseding of hand-work here, too. But even then, the end was not yet. In the closing years of the last century, Dr. Cartwright, a country parson, had invented the power-loom, and about 1804 had so far perfected it, that it could successfully compete with the hand-weaver; and all this machinery was made doubly important by James Watt’s steam-engine, invented in 1764 and used for supplying motive power for spinning since 1785.

With these inventions, since improved from year to year, the victory of machine-work over hand-work in the chief branches of English industry was won; and the history of the latter from that time forward simply relates how the hand-workers have been driven by machinery from one position after another. The consequences of this were, on the one hand, a rapid fall in price of all manufactured commodities, prosperity of commerce and manufacture, the conquest of nearly all the unprotected foreign markets, the sudden multiplication of capital and national wealth; on the other hand, a still more rapid multiplication of the proletariat, the destruction of all property-holding and of all security of employment for the working-class, demoralisation, political excitement, and all those facts so highly repugnant to Englishmen in comfortable circumstances, which we shall have to consider in the following pages. Having already seen what a transformation in the social condition of the lower classes a single

^a The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here “usually called Kettenstuhl in German” to explain the word spinning throstle given above in English.—*Ed.*

^b 1779 according to more precise data.—*Ed.*

^c The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have no words given in brackets.—*Ed.*

^d The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have “of wool and later (in the first decade of the present century) also” after “to the spinning”.—*Ed.*

such clumsy machine as the jenny had wrought, there is no cause for surprise as to that which a complete and interdependent system of finely adjusted machinery has brought about, machinery which receives raw material and turns out woven goods.

Meanwhile, let us trace the development of English manufacture* somewhat more minutely, beginning with^a the cotton industry. In the years 1771-1775, there were annually imported into England rather less than 5,000,000 pounds of raw cotton; in the year 1841 there were imported 528,000,000 pounds, and the import for 1844 will reach at least 600,000,000 pounds. In 1834 England exported 556,000,000 yards of woven cotton goods, 76,500,000 pounds of cotton yarn, and cotton hosiery to the value of £1,200,000. In the same year over 8,000,000 mule spindles were at work, 110,000 power and 250,000 hand-loom, throstle spindles not included, in the service of the cotton industry; and, according to McCulloch's reckoning,^b nearly a million and a half human beings were supported by this branch,^c of whom but 220,000 worked in the mills; the power used in these mills was steam, equivalent to 33,000 horse-power, and water, equivalent to 11,000 horse-power. At present these figures are far from adequate, and it may be safely assumed that, in the year 1845, the power and number of the machines and the number of the workers is greater by one-half than it was in 1834. The chief centre of this industry is Lancashire, where it originated; it has thoroughly revolutionised this county, converting it from an obscure, ill-cultivated swamp into a busy, lively region, multiplying its population tenfold in eighty years, and causing giant cities such as Liverpool and Manchester, containing together 700,000 inhabitants, and their neighbouring towns, Bolton with 60,000, Rochdale with 75,000, Oldham with 50,000, Preston with 60,000, Ashton and Stalybridge with 40,000, and a whole list of other manufacturing towns to spring up as if by a magic touch. The history of South Lancashire contains some of the greatest marvels of modern

* According to Porter's *Progress of the Nation*, London, 1836, Vol. I; 1838, Vol. II; 1843, Vol. III (official data), and other sources, chiefly official.—*Note by Engels*.

(1892) The historical outline of the industrial revolution given above is not exact in certain details; but in 1843-44 no better sources were available.—*Added by Engels in the German edition of 1892*.

^a Here the German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "its main branch".—*Ed*.

^b J. R. McCulloch, *A Dictionary of Commerce*.—*Ed*.

^c The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "directly or indirectly".—*Ed*.

times, yet no one ever mentions them and all these miracles are the product of the cotton industry. Glasgow, too, the centre^a for the cotton district of Scotland, for Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire, has increased in population from 30,000 to 300,000 since the introduction of the industry. The hosiery manufacture of Nottingham and Derby also received one fresh impulse from the lower price of yarn, and a second one from an improvement of the stocking loom, by means of which two stockings could be woven at once. The manufacture of lace, too, became an important branch of industry after the invention of the lace machine in 1777; soon after that date Lindley invented the point-net machine, and in 1809 Heathcoat invented the bobbin-net machine, in consequence of which the production of lace was greatly simplified, and the demand increased proportionately in consequence of the diminished cost, so that now, at least 200,000 persons are supported by this industry. Its chief centres are Nottingham, Leicester, and the West of England, Wiltshire, Devonshire, etc. A corresponding extension has taken place in the branches dependent upon the cotton industry, in dyeing, bleaching, and printing. Bleaching by the application of chlorine in place of the oxygen of the atmosphere, dyeing and printing by the rapid development of chemistry, and printing by a series of most brilliant mechanical inventions, received a yet greater advance which, with the extension of these branches caused by the growth of the cotton industry, raised them to a previously unknown degree of prosperity.

The same activity manifested itself in the manufacture of wool. This had hitherto been the leading department of English industry, but the quantities formerly produced are as nothing in comparison with that which is now manufactured. In 1782 the whole wool crop of the preceding three years lay unused for want of workers, and would have continued so to lie if the newly invented machinery had not come to its assistance and spun it. The adaptation of this machinery to the spinning of wool was most successfully accomplished. Then began the same sudden development in the wool districts which we have already seen in the cotton districts. In 1738 there were 75,000 pieces of woollen cloth produced in the West Riding of Yorkshire; in 1817 there were 490,000 pieces, and so rapid was the extension of the industry that in 1834, 450,000 more pieces were produced^b than

^a The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "a second centre".—*Ed.*

^b The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "exported" instead of "produced".—*Ed.*

in 1825. In 1801, 101,000,000 pounds of wool (7,000,000 pounds of it imported) were worked up; in 1835, 180,000,000 pounds were worked up, of which 42,000,000 pounds were imported. The principal centre of this industry is the West Riding of Yorkshire, where, especially at Bradford, long English wool is converted into worsted yarns, etc., while in the other cities, Leeds, Halifax, Huddersfield, etc., short wool is converted into hard-spun yarn and cloth. Then come the adjacent part of Lancashire, the region of Rochdale, where in addition to the cotton industry much flannel is produced, and the West of England, which supplies the finest cloths. Here also the growth of population is worthy of observation:

		in 1801	and	in 1831	
Bradford	contained	29,000,		77,000	inhabitants
Halifax	"	63,000,	"	110,000	"
Huddersfield	"	15,000,	"	34,000	"
Leeds	"	53,000,	"	123,000	"
And the whole West Riding	"	564,000,	"	980,000	"

A population which, since 1831, must have increased at least 20 to 25 per cent further. In 1835 the spinning of wool employed in the United Kingdom 1,313 mills, with 71,300 workers, these last being but a small portion of the multitude who are supported directly or indirectly by the manufacture of wool, and excluding nearly all weavers.

Progress in the linen trade developed later, because the nature of the raw material made the application of spinning machinery very difficult. Attempts had been made in the last years of the last century in Scotland, but the Frenchman Girard, who introduced flax spinning in 1810, was the first who succeeded practically, and even Girard's machines first attained on British soil the importance they deserved by means of improvements which they underwent in England, and of their universal application in Leeds, Dundee, and Belfast. From this time the British linen trade rapidly extended. In 1814, 3,000 tons* of flax were imported^a; in 1833, nearly 19,000 tons of flax and 3,400 tons of hemp. The export of Irish linen to Great Britain rose from 32,000,000 yards in 1800 to 53,000,000 in 1825, of which a large part was

* The English ton weighs 2,240 English pounds, almost 1,000 kilogrammes.—*Note by Engels to the 1845 German edition* (the last three words being added in the 1892 German edition—*Ed.*).

^a The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "to Dundee".—*Ed.*

re-exported. The export of English and Scotch woven linen goods rose from 24,000,000 yards in 1820 to 51,000,000 yards in 1833. The number of flax spinning establishments in 1835 was 347, employing 33,000 workers, of which one-half were in the South of Scotland, more than 60 in the West Riding of Yorkshire, Leeds, and its environs, 25 in Belfast, Ireland, and the rest in Dorset and Lancashire. Weaving is carried on in the South of Scotland, here and there in England, but principally in Ireland.

With like success did the English turn their attention to the manufacture of silk. Raw material was imported from Southern Europe and Asia ready spun, and the chief labour lay in the twisting of fine threads.^a Until 1824 the heavy import duty, four shillings per pound on raw material, greatly retarded the development of the English silk industry, while only the markets of England and the Colonies were protected for it. In that year the duty was reduced to one penny, and the number of mills at once largely increased. In a single year the number of throwing spindles rose from 780,000 to 1,180,000; and, although the commercial crisis of 1825 crippled this branch of industry for the moment, yet in 1827 more was produced than ever, the mechanical skill and experience of the English having secured their twisting machinery the supremacy over the awkward devices of their competitors. In 1835 the British Empire possessed 263 twisting mills, employing 30,000 workers, located chiefly in Cheshire, in Macclesfield, Congleton, and the surrounding districts, and in Manchester and Somersetshire. Besides these, there are numerous mills for working up waste, from which a peculiar article known as spun silk^b is manufactured, with which the English supply even the Paris and Lyons weavers. The weaving of the silk so twisted and spun is carried on in Paisley and elsewhere in Scotland, and in Spitalfields, London, but also in Manchester and elsewhere.

Nor is the gigantic advance achieved in English manufacture since 1760 restricted to the production of clothing materials. The impulse, once given, was communicated to all branches of industrial activity, and a multitude of inventions wholly unrelated to those here cited received double importance from the fact that they were made in the midst of the universal movement. But as soon as

^a The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here in brackets the German word "*Tramieren*".—*Ed.*

^b The German editions of 1845 and 1892 give this English term in brackets.—*Ed.*

the immeasurable importance of mechanical power was practically demonstrated, every energy was concentrated in the effort to exploit this power in all directions, and to exploit it in the interest of individual inventors and manufacturers; and the demand for machinery, fuel, and materials called a mass of workers and a number of trades into redoubled activity. The steam-engine first gave importance to the broad coal-fields of England; the production of machinery began now for the first time, and with it arose a new interest in the iron mines which supplied raw material for it. The increased consumption of wool stimulated English sheep breeding, and the growing importation of wool, flax, and silk called forth an extension of the British ocean carrying trade. Greatest of all was the growth of production of iron. The rich iron deposits of the English hills had hitherto been little developed; iron had always been smelted by means of charcoal, which became gradually more expensive^a as agriculture improved and forests were cut away. The beginning of the use of coke^b in iron smelting had been made in the last century, and in 1780 a new method was invented of converting into available wrought-iron coke-smelted iron, which up to that time had been convertible into cast-iron only. This process, known as "puddling", consisted in withdrawing the carbon which had mixed with the iron during the process of smelting, and opened a wholly new field for the production of English iron. Smelting furnaces were built fifty times larger than before, the process of smelting was simplified by the introduction of hot blasts, and iron could thus be produced so cheaply that a multitude of objects which had before been made of stone or wood were now made of iron.

In 1788, Thomas Paine, the famous democrat, built in Yorkshire the first iron bridge,¹²¹ which was followed by a great number of others, so that now nearly all bridges, especially for railroad traffic, are built of cast-iron, while in London itself a bridge across the Thames, the Southwark bridge, has been built of this material. Iron pillars, supports for machinery, etc., are universally used, and since the introduction of gas-lighting and railroads, new outlets for English iron products are opened. Nails and screws gradually came to be made by machinery. Huntsman, a Sheffielder, discovered in 1740 a method for casting steel, by which much labour was saved, and the production of wholly new

^a The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "and scarce".—*Ed.*

^b The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have the English word in brackets after its German equivalent.—*Ed.*

cheap goods rendered practicable; and through the greater purity of the material placed at its disposal, and the more perfect tools, new machinery and minute division of labour, the metal trade of England now first attained importance. The population of Birmingham grew from 73,000 in 1801 to 200,000 in 1844; that of Sheffield from 46,000 in 1801 to 110,000 in 1844, and the consumption of coal in the latter city alone reached in 1836, 515,000 tons. In 1805 there were exported 4,300 tons of iron products and 4,600 tons of pig-iron; in 1834, 16,200 tons of iron products and 107,000 tons of pig-iron, while the whole iron product, reaching in 1740 but 17,000 tons, had risen in 1834 to nearly 700,000 tons. The smelting of pig-iron alone consumes yearly more than 3,000,000 tons of coal,¹²² and the importance which coal-mining has attained in the course of the last 60 years can scarcely be conceived. All the English and Scotch deposits are now worked, and the mines of Northumberland and Durham alone yield annually more than 5,000,000 tons for shipping, and employ from 40 to 50,000 men. According to the *Durham Chronicle*, there were worked in these two counties:

In 1753, 14 mines; in 1800, 40 mines; in 1836, 76 mines; in 1843, 130 mines.

Moreover, all mines are now much more energetically worked than formerly. A similarly increased activity was applied to the working of tin, copper, and lead, and alongside of the extension of glass manufacture arose a new branch of industry in the production of pottery, rendered important by the efforts of Josiah Wedgwood, about 1763. This inventor placed the whole manufacture of stoneware on a scientific basis, introduced better taste, and founded the potteries of North Staffordshire, a district of eight English miles square, which, formerly a desert waste, is now sown with works and dwellings, and supports more than 60,000 people.

Into this universal whirl of activity everything was drawn. Agriculture made a corresponding advance. Not only did landed property pass, as we have already seen, into the hands of new owners and cultivators, agriculture was affected in still another way. The great holders applied capital to the improvement of the soil, tore down needless fences, drained, manured, employed better tools, and applied a rotation of crops.^a The progress of science came to their assistance also; Sir Humphry Davy applied chemistry to agriculture with success, and the development of

^a The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have in brackets the English term "cropping by rotation" after the corresponding German term.—*Ed.*

mechanical science bestowed a multitude of advantages upon the large farmer. Further, in consequence of the increase of population, the demand for agricultural products increased in such measure that from 1760 to 1834, 6,840,540 acres of waste land were reclaimed; and, in spite of this, England was transformed from a grain exporting to a grain importing country.

The same activity was developed in the establishment of communication. From 1818 to 1829, there were built in England and Wales, 1,000 English miles of roadway of the width prescribed by law, 60 feet, and nearly all the old roads were reconstructed on the new system of McAdam. In Scotland, the Department of Public Works built since 1803 nearly 900 miles of roadway and more than 1,000 bridges, by which the population of the Highlands was suddenly placed within reach of civilisation. The Highlanders had hitherto been chiefly poachers and smugglers; they now became farmers^a and hand-workers. And, though Gaelic schools were organised for the purpose of maintaining the Gaelic language, yet Gaelic-Celtic customs and speech are rapidly vanishing before the approach of English civilisation. So, too, in Ireland; between the counties of Cork, Limerick, and Kerry, lay hitherto a wilderness wholly without passable roads, and serving, by reason of its inaccessibility, as the refuge of all criminals and the chief protection of the Celtic Irish nationality in the South of Ireland. It has now been cut through by public roads, and civilisation has thus gained admission even to this savage region. The whole British Empire, and especially England, which, sixty years ago, had as bad roads as Germany or France then had, is now covered by a network of the finest roadways; and these, too, like almost everything else in England, are the work of private enterprise, the State having done very little in this direction.

Before 1755 England possessed almost no canals. In that year a canal was built in Lancashire from Sankey Brook to St. Helen's; and in 1759, James Brindley built the first important one, the Duke of Bridgewater's Canal from Manchester and the coal-mines of the district to the mouth of the Mersey passing, near Barton, by aqueduct, over the river Irwell. From this achievement dates the canal building of England, to which Brindley first gave importance. Canals were now built, and rivers made navigable in all directions. In England alone, there are 2,200 miles of canals and 1,800 miles of navigable river. In Scotland, the Caledonian Canal was cut directly across the country, and in Ireland several canals

^a The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "industrious farmers".—*Ed.*

were built. These improvements, too, like the railroads and roadways, are nearly all the work of private individuals and companies.

The railroads have been only recently built. The first great one was opened from Liverpool to Manchester in 1830, since which all the great cities have been connected by rail. London with Southampton, Brighton, Dover, Colchester, Exeter,^a and Birmingham; Birmingham with Gloucester, Liverpool, Lancaster (via Newton and Wigan, and via Manchester and Bolton); also with Leeds (via Manchester and Halifax, and via Leicester, Derby, and Sheffield); Leeds with Hull and Newcastle (via York). There are also many minor lines building or projected, which will soon make it possible to travel from Edinburgh to London in one day.

As it had transformed the means of communication by land, so did the introduction of steam revolutionise travel by sea. The first steamboat was launched in 1807, in the Hudson, in North America; the first in the British Empire, in 1811, on the Clyde. Since then, more than 600 have been built in England; and in 1836 more than 500 were plying to and from British ports.

Such, in brief, is the history of English industrial development in the past sixty years, a history which has no counterpart in the annals of humanity. Sixty, eighty years ago, England was a country like every other, with small towns, few and simple industries, and a thin but *proportionally* large agricultural population. Today it is a country like *no* other, with a capital of two and a half million inhabitants; with vast manufacturing cities; with an industry that supplies the world, and produces almost everything by means of the most complex machinery; with an industrious, intelligent, dense population, of which two-thirds are employed in trade and commerce,^b and composed of classes wholly different; forming, in fact, with other customs and other needs, a different nation from the England of those days. The industrial revolution is of the same importance for England as the political revolution for France, and the philosophical revolution for Germany; and the difference between England in 1760 and in 1844 is at least as great as that between France under the *ancien régime* and during the revolution of July. But the mightiest result of this industrial transformation is the English proletariat.

^a The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "Colchester, Cambridge, Exeter (via Bristol)".—*Ed.*

^b In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 the words "and commerce" do not occur.—*Ed.*

We have already seen how the proletariat was called into existence by the introduction of machinery. The rapid extension of manufacture demanded hands, wages rose, and troops of workmen migrated from the agricultural districts to the towns. Population multiplied enormously, and nearly all the increase took place in the proletariat. Further, Ireland had entered upon an orderly development only since the beginning of the eighteenth century. There, too, the population, more than decimated by English cruelty in earlier disturbances, now rapidly multiplied, especially after the advance in manufacture began to draw masses of Irishmen towards England. Thus arose the great manufacturing and commercial cities of the British Empire, in which at least three-fourths of the population belong to the working-class, while the lower middle-class consists only of small shop-keepers, and very very few handicraftsmen. For, though the rising manufacture first attained importance by transforming tools into machines, work-rooms into factories, and consequently, the toiling lower middle-class into the toiling proletariat, and the former large merchants into manufacturers, though the lower middle-class was thus early crushed out, and the population reduced to the two opposing elements, workers and capitalists, this happened outside of the domain of manufacture proper, in the province of handicraft and retail trade as well. In the place of the former masters and apprentices, came great capitalists and working-men who had no prospect of rising above their class. Hand-work was carried on after the fashion of factory work, the division of labour was strictly applied, and small employers who could not compete with great establishments were forced down into the proletariat. At the same time the destruction of the former organisation of hand-work, and the disappearance of the lower middle-class deprived the working-man of all possibility of rising into the middle-class himself. Hitherto he had always had the prospect of establishing himself somewhere as master artificer, perhaps employing journeymen and apprentices; but now, when master artificers were crowded out by manufacturers, when large capital had become necessary for carrying on work independently, the working-class became, for the first time, an integral, permanent class of the population, whereas it had formerly often been merely a transition leading to the bourgeoisie. Now, he who was born to toil had no other prospect than that of remaining a toiler all his life. Now, for the first time, therefore, the proletariat was in a position to undertake an independent movement.

In this way were brought together those vast masses of working-

men who now fill the whole British Empire, whose social condition forces itself every day more and more upon the attention of the civilised world.

The condition of the working-class is the condition of the vast majority of the English people. The question: What is to become of those destitute millions, who consume today what they earned yesterday; who have created the greatness of England by their inventions and their toil; who become with every passing day more conscious of their might, and demand, with daily increasing urgency, their share of the advantages of society?—This, since the Reform Bill,¹²³ has become the national question. All Parliamentary debates, of any importance, may be reduced to this; and, though the English middle-class will not as yet admit it, though they try to evade this great question, and to represent their own particular interests as the truly national ones, their action is utterly useless. With every session of Parliament the working-class gains ground, the interests of the middle-class diminish in importance; and, in spite of the fact that the middle-class is the chief, in fact, the only power in Parliament, the last session of 1844 was a continuous debate upon subjects affecting the working-class, the Poor Relief Bill, the Factory Act, the Masters' and Servants' Act^a; and Thomas Duncombe, the representative of the working-men in the House of Commons, was the great man of the session; while the Liberal middle-class with its motion for repealing the Corn Laws, and the Radical middle-class with its resolution for refusing the taxes, played pitiable rôles. Even the debates about Ireland were at bottom debates about the Irish proletariat, and the means of coming to its assistance. It is high time, too, for the English middle-class to make some concessions to the working-men who no longer plead but threaten^b; for in a short time it may be too late.

In spite of all this, the English middle-class, especially the manufacturing class, which is enriched directly by means of the poverty of the workers, persists in ignoring this poverty. This class, feeling itself the mighty representative class of the nation, is ashamed to lay the sore spot of England bare before the eyes of the world; will not confess, even to itself, that the workers are in distress, because it, the property-holding, manufacturing class, must bear the moral responsibility for this distress. Hence the

^a Concerning the Parliamentary Session of 1844 see below, pp. 464-65, 569-70, 578.—*Ed.*

^b The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "threaten and demand".—*Ed.*

scornful smile which intelligent Englishmen (and they, the middle-class, alone are known on the Continent) assume when any one begins to speak of the condition of the working-class; hence the utter ignorance on the part of the whole middle-class of everything which concerns the workers; hence the ridiculous blunders which men of this class, in and out of Parliament, make when the position of the proletariat comes under discussion; hence the absurd freedom from anxiety, with which the middle-class dwells upon a soil that is honeycombed, and may any day collapse, the speedy collapse of which is as certain as a mathematical or mechanical demonstration; hence the miracle that the English have as yet no single book upon the condition of their workers, although they have been examining and mending the old state of things no one knows how many years. Hence also the deep wrath of the whole working-class, from Glasgow to London, against the rich, by whom they are systematically plundered and mercilessly left to their fate, a wrath which before too long a time goes by, a time almost within the power of man to predict,^a must break out into a revolution in comparison with which the French Revolution, and the year 1794, will prove to have been child's play.

^a The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "calculate" instead of "predict".— *Ed.*

THE INDUSTRIAL PROLETARIAT

The order of our investigation of the different sections of the proletariat follows naturally from the foregoing history of its rise. The first proletarians were connected with manufacture, were engendered by it, and accordingly, those employed in manufacture, in the working up of raw materials, will first claim our attention. The production of raw materials and of fuel for manufacture attained importance only in consequence of the industrial change, and engendered a new proletariat, the coal and metal miners. Then, in the third place, manufacture influenced agriculture, and in the fourth, the condition of Ireland; and the fractions of the proletariat belonging to each, will find their place accordingly. We shall find, too, that with the possible exception of the Irish, the degree of intelligence of the various workers is in direct proportion to their relation to manufacture; and that the factory-hands are most enlightened as to their own interests, the miners somewhat less so, the agricultural labourers scarcely at all. We shall find the same order again among the industrial workers, and shall see how the factory-hands, eldest children of the industrial revolution, have from the beginning to the present day formed the nucleus of the Labour Movement, and how the others have joined this movement just in proportion as their handicraft has been invaded by the progress of machinery.^a We shall thus learn from the example which England offers, from the equal

^a The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "the industrial revolution" instead of "the progress of machinery".—*Ed.*

pace which the Labour Movement has kept with the movement of industrial development, the historical significance of manufacture.

Since, however, at the present moment, pretty much the whole industrial proletariat is involved in the movement, and the condition of the separate sections has much in common, because they all are industrial, we shall have first to examine the condition of the industrial proletariat as a whole, in order later to notice more particularly each separate division with its own peculiarities.

It has been already suggested that manufacture centralises property in the hands of the few. It requires large capital with which to erect the colossal establishments that ruin the petty trading bourgeoisie and with which to press into its service the forces of Nature, so driving the hand-labour of the independent workman out of the market. The division of labour, the application of water and especially steam, and the application of machinery, are the three great levers with which manufacture, since the middle of the last century, has been busy putting the world out of joint. Manufacture, on a small scale, created the middle-class; on a large scale, it created the working-class, and raised the elect of the middle-class to the throne, but only to overthrow them the more surely when the time comes. Meanwhile, it is an undenied and easily explained fact that the numerous petty middle-class of the "good old times" has been annihilated by manufacture, and resolved into rich capitalists on the one hand and poor workers on the other.*

The centralising tendency of manufacture does not, however, stop here. Population becomes centralised just as capital does; and, very naturally, since the human being, the worker, is regarded in manufacture simply as a piece of capital for the use of which the manufacturer pays interest under the name of wages. A manufacturing establishment^a requires many workers employed together in a single building, living near each other and forming a village of themselves in the case of a good-sized factory. They have needs for satisfying which other people are necessary; handicraftsmen, shoemakers, tailors, bakers, carpenters, stonemasons, settle at

* Compare on this point my "Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy" in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*. In this essay "free competition" is the starting-point; but industry is only the practice of free competition and the latter is only the principle on which industry is based.—*Note by Engels*. (The American and English authorised editions give only the first sentence of this footnote. See present edition, Vol. 3.—*Ed.*)

^a The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "A big manufacturing establishment".—*Ed.*

hand. The inhabitants of the village, especially the younger generation, accustom themselves to factory work, grow skilful in it, and when^a the first mill can no longer employ them all, wages fall, and the immigration of fresh manufacturers is the consequence. So the village grows into a small town, and the small town into a large one. The greater the town, the greater its advantages. It offers roads, railroads, canals; the choice of skilled labour increases constantly, new establishments can be built more cheaply, because of the competition among builders and machinists who are at hand, than in remote country districts, whither timber, machinery, builders, and operatives must be brought; it offers a market^b to which buyers crowd, and direct communication with the markets supplying raw material or demanding finished goods. Hence the marvellously rapid growth of the great manufacturing towns. The country, on the other hand, had the advantage that wages are usually lower than in town, and so town and country are in constant competition; and, if the advantage is on the side of the town today, wages sink so low in the country tomorrow that new investments are most profitably made there. But the centralising tendency of manufacture continues in full force, and every new factory built in the country bears in it the germ of a manufacturing town. If it were possible for this mad rush of manufacture to go on at this rate for another century, every manufacturing district of England would be one great manufacturing town, and Manchester and Liverpool would meet at Warrington or Newton; for in commerce, too, this centralisation of the population works in precisely the same way, and hence it is that one or two great harbours, such as Hull and Liverpool, Bristol and London, monopolise almost the whole maritime commerce of Great Britain.

Since commerce and manufacture attain their most complete development in these great towns, their influence upon the proletariat is also most clearly observable here. Here the centralisation of property has reached the highest point; here the morals and customs of the good old times are most completely obliterated; here it has gone so far that the name Merry Old England^c conveys no meaning, for Old England itself is unknown to memory and to the tales of our grandfathers. Hence, too, there exist here only a rich and a poor class, for the lower middle-class vanishes more completely with every passing day. Thus the class

^a The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "as is natural".—*Ed.*

^b The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "a stock exchange".—*Ed.*

^c Given in English in the German editions of 1845 and 1892.—*Ed.*

formerly most stable has become the most restless one. It consists today of a few remnants of a past time, and a number of people eager to make fortunes, industrial Micawbers^a and speculators of whom one may amass a fortune, while ninety-nine become insolvent, and more than half of the ninety-nine live by perpetually repeated failure.

But in these towns the proletarians are the infinite majority, and how they fare, what influence the great town exercises upon them, we have now to investigate.

^a Instead of "Micawbers" (from *David Copperfield* by Ch. Dickens) the German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "knights of industry".—*Ed.*

THE GREAT TOWNS

A town, such as London, where a man may wander for hours together without reaching the beginning of the end, without meeting the slightest hint which could lead to the inference that there is open country within reach, is a strange thing. This colossal centralisation, this heaping together of two and a half millions of human beings at one point, has multiplied the power of this two and a half millions a hundredfold; has raised London to the commercial capital of the world, created the giant docks and assembled the thousand vessels that continually cover the Thames. I know nothing more imposing than the view which the Thames offers during the ascent from the sea to London Bridge. The masses of buildings, the wharves on both sides, especially from Woolwich upwards, the countless ships along both shores, crowding ever closer and closer together, until, at last, only a narrow passage remains in the middle of the river, a passage through which hundreds of steamers shoot by one another; all this is so vast, so impressive, that a man cannot collect himself, but is lost in the marvel of England's greatness before he sets foot upon English soil.*

But the sacrifices which all this has cost become apparent later. After roaming the streets of the capital a day or two, making

* This applies to the time of sailing vessels. The Thames now is a dreary collection of ugly steamers.—F. E.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887* (reproduced in the English edition of 1892—*Ed.*).

(1892) This was written nearly fifty years ago, in the days of the picturesque sailing vessels. In so far as such ships still ply to and from London they are now to be found only in the docks, while the river itself is covered with ugly, sooty steamers.—*Note by Engels to the German edition of 1892.*

headway with difficulty through the human turmoil and the endless lines of vehicles, after visiting the slums of the metropolis, one realises for the first time that these Londoners have been forced to sacrifice the best qualities of their human nature, to bring to pass all the marvels of civilisation which crowd their city; that a hundred powers which slumbered within them have remained inactive, have been suppressed in order that a few might be developed more fully and multiply through union with those of others. The very turmoil of the streets has something repulsive, something against which human nature rebels. The hundreds of thousands of all classes and ranks crowding past each other, are they not all human beings with the same qualities and powers, and with the same interest in being happy? And have they not, in the end, to seek happiness in the same way, by the same means? And still they crowd by one another as though they had nothing in common, nothing to do with one another, and their only agreement is the tacit one, that each keep to his own side^a of the pavement, so as not to delay the opposing streams of the crowd, while it occurs to no man to honour another with so much as a glance. The brutal indifference, the unfeeling isolation of each in his private interest, becomes the more repellent and offensive, the more these individuals are crowded together, within a limited space. And, however much one may be aware that this isolation of the individual, this narrow self-seeking, is the fundamental principle of our society everywhere, it is nowhere so shamelessly barefaced, so self-conscious as just here in the crowding of the great city. The dissolution of mankind into monads, of which each one has a separate principle,^b the world of atoms, is here carried out to its utmost extreme.

Hence it comes, too, that the social war, the war of each against all, is here openly declared. Just as in Stirner's recent book,^c people regard each other only as useful objects; each exploits the other, and the end of it all is that the stronger treads the weaker under foot, and that the powerful few, the capitalists, seize everything for themselves, while to the weak many, the poor, scarcely a bare existence remains.

What is true of London, is true of Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, is true of all great towns. Everywhere barbarous indiffer-

^a The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "to the right side".—*Ed.*

^b The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "and a separate purpose".—*Ed.*

^c Max Stirner, *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum*.—*Ed.*

ence, hard egotism on one hand, and nameless misery on the other, everywhere social warfare, every man's house in a state of siege, everywhere reciprocal plundering under the protection of the law, and all so shameless, so openly avowed that one shrinks before the consequences of our social state as they manifest themselves here undisguised, and can only wonder that the whole crazy fabric still hangs together.

Since capital, the direct or indirect control of the means of subsistence and production, is the weapon with which this social warfare is carried on, it is clear that all the disadvantages of such a state must fall upon the poor. For him no man has the slightest concern. Cast into the whirlpool, he must struggle through as well as he can. If he is so happy as to find work, i.e., if the bourgeoisie does him the favour to enrich itself by means of him, wages await him which scarcely suffice to keep body and soul together; if he can get no work he may steal, if he is not afraid of the police, or starve, in which case the police will take care that he does so in a quiet and inoffensive manner.^a During my residence in England, at least twenty or thirty persons have died of simple starvation under the most revolting circumstances, and a jury has rarely been found possessed of the courage to speak the plain truth in the matter. Let the testimony of the witnesses be never so clear and unequivocal, the bourgeoisie, from which the jury is selected, always finds some backdoor through which to escape the frightful verdict, death from starvation. The bourgeoisie dare not speak the truth in these cases, for it would speak its own condemnation. But indirectly, far more than directly, many have died of starvation, where long-continued want of proper nourishment has called forth fatal illness,^b when it has produced such debility that causes which might otherwise have remained inoperative brought on severe illness and death. The English working-men call this "social murder", and accuse our whole society of perpetrating this crime perpetually. Are they wrong?

True, it is only individuals who starve, but what security has the working-man that it may not be his turn tomorrow? Who assures him employment, who vouches for it that, if for any reason or no reason his lord and master discharges him tomorrow, he can struggle along with those dependent upon him, until he may find

^a The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "without offending the bourgeoisie".—*Ed.*

^b The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "and thus snatched away its victim".—*Ed.*

some one else "to give him bread"? Who guarantees that willingness to work shall suffice to obtain work, that uprightness, industry, thrift, and the rest of the virtues recommended by the bourgeoisie, are really his road to happiness? No one. He knows that he has something today and that it does not depend upon himself whether he shall have something tomorrow. He knows that every breeze that blows, every whim of his employer, every bad turn of trade may hurl him back into the fierce whirlpool from which he has temporarily saved himself, and in which it is hard and often impossible to keep his head above water. He knows that, though he may have the means of living today, it is very uncertain whether he shall tomorrow.

Meanwhile, let us proceed to a more detailed investigation of the position in which the social war has placed the non-possessing class. Let us see what pay for his work society does give the working-man in the form of dwelling, clothing, food, what sort of subsistence it grants those who contribute most to the maintenance of society; and, first, let us consider the dwellings.

Every great city has one or more slums, where the working-class is crowded together. True, poverty often dwells in hidden alleys close to the palaces of the rich; but, in general, a separate territory has been assigned to it, where, removed from the sight of the happier classes, it may struggle along as it can. These slums are pretty equally arranged in all the great towns of England, the worst houses in the worst quarters of the towns; usually one- or two-storied cottages^a in long rows, perhaps with cellars used as dwellings, almost always irregularly built. These houses of three or four rooms and a kitchen^b form, throughout England, some parts of London excepted, the general dwellings of the working-class. The streets are generally unpaved, rough, dirty, filled with vegetable and animal refuse, without sewers or gutters, but supplied with foul, stagnant pools instead. Moreover, ventilation is impeded by the bad, confused method of building of the whole quarter, and since many human beings here live crowded into a small space, the atmosphere that prevails in these working-men's quarters may readily be imagined. Further, the streets serve as drying grounds in fine weather; lines are stretched across from house to house, and hung with wet clothing.

^a The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "brick buildings" instead of "cottages".—*Ed.*

^b The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "are called cottages and".—*Ed.*

Let us investigate some of the slums in their order. London comes first,* and in London the famous rookery^a of St. Giles which is now, at last, about to be penetrated by a couple of broad streets.^b St. Giles is in the midst of the most populous part of the town, surrounded by broad, splendid avenues in which the gay world of London idles about, in the immediate neighbourhood of Oxford Street, Regent Street, of Trafalgar Square and the Strand. It is a disorderly collection of tall, three- or four-storied houses, with narrow, crooked, filthy streets, in which there is quite as much life as in the great thoroughfares of the town, except that, here, people of the working-class only are to be seen. A vegetable market is held in the street, baskets with vegetables and fruits, naturally all bad and hardly fit to use obstruct the sidewalk still further, and from these, as well as from the fish-dealers' stalls, arises a horrible smell. The houses are occupied from cellar to garret, filthy within and without, and their appearance is such that no human being could possibly wish to live in them. But all this is nothing in comparison with the dwellings in the narrow courts and alleys between the streets, entered by covered passages between the houses, in which the filth and tottering ruin surpass all description. Scarcely a whole window-pane can be found, the walls are crumbling, door-posts and window-frames loose and broken, doors of old boards nailed together, or altogether wanting in this thieves' quarter, where no doors are needed, there being nothing to steal. Heaps of garbage and ashes lie in all directions, and the foul liquids emptied before the doors gather in stinking pools. Here live the poorest of the poor, the worst paid workers with thieves and the victims of prostitution^c indiscriminately huddled together, the majority Irish, or of Irish extraction, and those who have not yet sunk in the whirlpool of moral ruin which surrounds

* The description given below had already been written when I came across an article in the *Illuminated Magazine* (October 1844) dealing with the working-class districts in London which coincides—in many places almost literally and everywhere in general tenor—with what I had said. The article was entitled “The Dwellings of the Poor, from the notebook of an M.D.”—*Note by Engels*. (This note is reproduced in the German edition of 1892 but is missing in the American edition of 1887 and the English edition of 1892.—*Ed.*)

^a In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 this English word is given in brackets after the corresponding German word.—*Ed.*

^b The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here “and thus done away with”.—*Ed.*

^c The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have “with thieves, rogues and victims of prostitution”.—*Ed.*

them, sinking daily deeper, losing daily more and more of their power to resist the demoralising influence of want, filth, and evil surroundings.

Nor is St. Giles the only London slum. In the immense tangle of streets, there are hundreds and thousands of alleys and courts lined with houses too bad for anyone to live in, who can still spend anything whatsoever upon a dwelling fit for human beings. Close to the splendid houses of the rich such a lurking-place of the bitterest poverty may often be found. So, a short time ago, on the occasion of a coroner's inquest, a region close to Portman Square, one of the very respectable squares, was characterised as an abode "of a multitude of Irish demoralised by poverty and filth". So, too, may be found in streets, such as Long Acre and others, which, though not fashionable, are yet "respectable", a great number of cellar dwellings out of which puny children and half-starved, ragged women emerge into the light of day. In the immediate neighbourhood of Drury Lane Theatre, the second in London, are some of the worst streets of the whole metropolis, Charles, King, and Park Streets, in which the houses are inhabited from cellar to garret exclusively by poor families. In the parishes of St. John and St. Margaret^a there lived in 1840, according to the *Journal of the Statistical Society*, 5,366 working-men's families in 5,294 "dwellings" (if they deserve the name!), men, women, and children thrown together without distinction of age or sex, 26,830 persons all told; and of these families three-fourths possessed but one room. In the aristocratic parish of St. George, Hanover Square, there lived, according to the same authority, 1,465 working-men's families, nearly 6,000 persons, under similar conditions, and here, too, more than two-thirds of the whole number crowded together at the rate of one family in one room. And how the poverty of these unfortunates, among whom even thieves find nothing to steal, is exploited by the property-holding class in lawful ways! The abominable dwellings in Drury Lane, just mentioned, bring in the following rents: two cellar dwellings, 3s.^b; one room, ground-floor, 4s.; second-storey, 4s. 6d.; third-floor, 4s.; garret-room, 3s. weekly, so that the starving occupants of Charles Street alone, pay the house-owners a yearly tribute of £2,000,^c and the 5,366 families above mentioned in Westminster, a yearly rent of £40,000.¹²⁴

^a The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "in Westminster".—*Ed.*

^b The German editions of 1845 and 1892 here give "1 taler" in brackets.—*Ed.*

^c The German editions of 1845 and 1892 give in brackets 14,000 taler after £2,000 and 270,000 taler after £40,000.—*Ed.*

The most extensive working-people's district lies east of the Tower in Whitechapel and Bethnal Green, where the greatest masses of London working-people live. Let us hear Mr. G. Alston, preacher of St. Philip's, Bethnal Green, on the condition of his parish. He says:

"It contains 1,400 houses, inhabited by 2,795 families, comprising a population of 12,000. The space within which this large amount of population are living is less than 400 yards square (1,200 feet), and it is no uncommon thing for a man and his wife, with four or five children, and sometimes the grandfather and grandmother, to be found living in a room from ten to twelve feet square, and which serves them for eating and working in. I believe that till the Bishop of London called the attention of the public to the state of Bethnal Green, about as little was known at the West-end of the town of this most destitute parish as the wilds of Australia or the islands of the South Seas. If we really desire to find out the most destitute and deserving, we must lift the latch of their doors, and find them at their scanty meal; we must see them when suffering from sickness and want of work; and if we do this from day to day in such a neighbourhood as Bethnal Green, we shall become acquainted with a mass of wretchedness and misery such as a nation like our own ought to be ashamed to permit. I was Curate of a parish near Huddersfield during the three years of the greatest manufacturing distress; but I never witnessed such a thorough prostration of the poor as I have seen since I have been in Bethnal Green. There is not one father of a family in ten throughout the entire district that possesses any clothes but his working dress, and that too commonly in the worst tattered condition; and with many this wretched clothing forms their only covering at night, with nothing better than a bag of straw or shavings to lie upon."¹²⁵

The foregoing description furnishes an idea of the aspect of the interior of the dwellings. But let us follow the English officials, who occasionally stray thither, into one or two of these working-men's homes.

On the occasion of an inquest held Nov. 16th, 1843, by Mr. Carter, coroner for Surrey, upon the body of Ann Galway, aged 45 years, the newspapers related the following particulars concerning the deceased¹²⁶: She had lived at No. 3 White Lion Court, Bermondsey Street, London, with her husband and a nineteen-year-old son in a little room, in which neither a bedstead nor any other furniture was to be seen. She lay dead beside her son upon a heap of feathers which were scattered over her almost naked body, there being neither sheet nor coverlet. The feathers stuck so fast over the whole body that the physician could not examine the corpse until it was cleansed, and then found it starved and scarred from the bites of vermin. Part of the floor of the room was torn up, and the hole used by the family as a privy.

On Monday, Jan. 15th, 1844, two boys were brought before the

police magistrate^a because, being in a starving condition, they had stolen and immediately devoured a half-cooked calf's foot from a shop. The magistrate felt called upon to investigate the case further, and received the following details from the policeman: The mother of the two boys was the widow of an ex-soldier, afterwards policeman, and had had a very hard time since the death of her husband, to provide for her nine children. She lived at No. 2 Pool's Place, Quaker Court, Spitalfields, in the utmost poverty. When the policeman came to her, he found her with six of her children literally huddled together in a little back room, with no furniture but two old rush-bottomed chairs with the seats gone, a small table with two legs broken, a broken cup, and a small dish. On the hearth was scarcely a spark of fire, and in one corner lay as many old rags as would fill a woman's apron, which served the whole family as a bed. For bed clothing they had only their scanty day clothing. The poor woman told him that she had been forced to sell her bedstead the year before to buy food. Her bedding she had pawned with the victualler for food. In short, everything had gone for food. The magistrate ordered the woman a considerable provision from the poor-box.

In February, 1844, Theresa Bishop, a widow 60 years old, was recommended, with her sick daughter, aged 26, to the compassion of the police magistrate in Marlborough Street. She lived at No. 5 Brown Street, Grosvenor Square, in a small back room no larger than a closet, in which there was not one single piece of furniture. In one corner lay some rags upon which both slept; a chest served as table and chair. The mother earned a little by charring. The owner of the house said that they had lived in this way since May, 1843, had gradually sold or pawned everything that they had, and had still never paid any rent. The magistrate assigned them £1 from the poor-box.¹²⁷

I am far from asserting that *all* London working-people live in such want as the foregoing three families. I know very well that ten are somewhat better off, where one is so totally trodden under foot by society; but I assert that thousands of industrious and worthy people—far worthier and more to be respected than all the rich of London—do find themselves in a condition unworthy of human beings; and that every proletarian, everyone, without exception, is exposed to a similar fate without any fault of his own and in spite of every possible effort.

^a The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "in Worship Street, London".—Ed.

But in spite of all this, they who have some kind of a shelter are fortunate, fortunate in comparison with the utterly homeless. In London fifty thousand human beings get up every morning, not knowing where they are to lay their heads at night. The luckiest of this multitude, those who succeed in keeping a penny or two until evening, enter a lodging-house, such as abound in every great city, where they find a bed. But what a bed! These houses are filled with beds from cellar to garret, four, five, six beds in a room; as many as can be crowded in. Into every bed four, five, or six human beings are piled, as many as can be packed in, sick and well, young and old, drunk and sober, men and women, just as they come, indiscriminately. Then come strife, blows, wounds, or, if these bedfellows agree, so much the worse; thefts are arranged and things done which our language, grown more humane than our deeds, refuses to record. And those who cannot pay for such a refuge? They sleep where they find a place, in passages, arcades, in corners where the police and the owners leave them undisturbed. A few individuals find their way to the refuges which are managed, here and there, by private charity, others sleep on the benches in the parks close under the windows of Queen Victoria. Let us hear the London *Times*:

"It appears from the report of the proceedings at Marlborough Street Police Court in our columns of yesterday, that there is an average number of 50 human beings of all ages, who huddle together in the parks every night, having no other shelter than what is supplied by the trees and a few hollows of the embankment. Of these, the majority are young girls who have been seduced from the country by the soldiers and turned loose on the world in all the destitution of friendless penury, and all the recklessness of early vice.

"This is truly horrible! Poor there must be everywhere. Indigence will find its way and set up its hideous state in the heart of a great and luxurious city. Amid the thousand narrow lanes and by-streets of a populous metropolis there must always, we fear, be much suffering—much that offends the eye—much that lurks unseen.

"But that within the precincts of wealth, gaiety, and fashion, nigh the regal grandeur of St. James, close on the palatial splendour of Bayswater, on the confines of the old and new aristocratic quarters, in a district where the cautious refinement of modern design has refrained from creating one single tenement for poverty; which seems, as it were, dedicated to the exclusive enjoyment of wealth, that *there* want, and famine, and disease, and vice should stalk in all their kindred horrors, consuming body by body, soul by soul!

"It is indeed a monstrous state of things! Enjoyment the most absolute, that bodily ease, intellectual excitement, or the more innocent pleasures of sense can supply to man's craving, brought in close contact with the most unmitigated misery! Wealth, from its bright saloons, laughing—an insolently heedless laugh—at the unknown wounds of want! Pleasure, cruelly but unconsciously mocking the pain that moans below! All contrary things mocking one another—all contrary, save the vice which tempts and the vice which is tempted!

“But let all men remember this—that within the most courtly precincts of the richest city of God’s earth, there may be found, night after night, winter after winter, women—young in years—old in sin and suffering—outcasts from society—**ROTTING FROM FAMINE, FILTH, AND DISEASE.** Let them remember this, and learn not to theorise but to act. God knows, there is much room for action nowadays.”*

I have referred to the refuges for the homeless. How greatly overcrowded these are, two examples may show. A newly erected Refuge for the Houseless^a in Upper Ogle Street, that can shelter three hundred persons every night, has received since its opening, January 27th to March 17th, 1844, 2,740 persons for one or more nights; and, although the season was growing more favourable, the number of applicants in this, as well as in the asylums of Whitecross Street and Wapping, was strongly on the increase, and a crowd of the homeless had to be sent away every night for want of room. In another refuge, the Central Asylum in Playhouse Yard, there were supplied on an average 460 beds nightly, during the first three months of the year 1844, 6,681 persons being sheltered, and 96,141 portions of bread were distributed. Yet the committee of directors declare this institution began to meet the pressure of the needy to a limited extent only when the Eastern Asylum also was opened.¹²⁸

Let us leave London and examine the other great cities of the three kingdoms in their order. Let us take Dublin first, a city the approach to which from the sea is as charming as that of London is imposing. The Bay of Dublin is the most beautiful of the whole British Island Kingdom, and is even compared by the Irish with the Bay of Naples. The city, too, possesses great attractions, and its aristocratic districts are better and more tastefully laid out than those of any other British city. By way of compensation, however, the poorer districts of Dublin are among the most hideous and repulsive to be seen in the world. True, the Irish character, which, under some circumstances, is comfortable only in the dirt, has some share in this; but as we find thousands of Irish in every great city in England and Scotland, and as every poor population must gradually sink into the same uncleanness, the wretchedness of Dublin is nothing specific, nothing peculiar to Dublin, but something common to all great towns. The poor quarters of Dublin are extremely extensive, and the filth, the uninhabitable-

* *Times*, Oct. 12th, 1843.—*Note by Engels to the American edition of 1887 and the English edition of 1892.* (The German editions of 1845 and 1892 refer, before this citation, to the *Times*, October 1843, without any date.—*Ed.*)

^a The German editions of 1845 and 1892 give this in English.—*Ed.*

ness of the houses and the neglect of the streets surpass all description. Some idea of the manner in which the poor are here crowded together may be formed from the fact that, in 1817, according to the report of the Inspector of Workhouses,* 1,318 persons lived in 52 houses with 390 rooms in Barrack Street, and 1,997 persons in 71 houses with 393 rooms in and near Church Street; that:

“foul lanes, courts, and yards, are interposed between this and the adjoining streets.... There are many cellars which have no light but from the door.... In some of these cellars the inhabitants sleep on the floors which are all earthen; but in general, they have bedsteads.... Nicholson’s Court ... contains 151 persons in 28 small apartments ... their state is very miserable, there being only two bedsteads and two blankets in the whole court.”

The poverty is so great in Dublin, that a single benevolent institution, the Mendicity Association,^a gives relief to 2,500 persons or one per cent of the population daily, receiving and feeding them for the day and dismissing them at night.

Dr. Alison describes a similar state of things in Edinburgh, whose superb situation, which has won it the title of the modern Athens, and whose brilliant aristocratic quarter in the New Town, contrast strongly with the foul wretchedness of the poor in the Old Town. Alison asserts that this extensive quarter is as filthy and horrible as the worst districts of Dublin, while the Mendicity Association would have as great a proportion of needy persons to assist in Edinburgh as in the Irish capital. He asserts, indeed, that the poor in Scotland, especially in Edinburgh and Glasgow, are worse off than in any other region of the three kingdoms, and that the poorest are not Irish, but Scotch. The preacher of the Old Church of Edinburgh, Dr. Lee, testified in 1836, before the Commission of Religious Instruction, that:

“I have never seen such a concentration of misery as in this parish,” where the people are without furniture, without everything. “I frequently see the same room occupied by two married couples. I have been in one day in seven houses where there was no bed, in some of them not even straw. I found people of eighty years of age lying on the boards. Many sleep in the same clothes which they wear during the day. I may mention the case of two Scotch families living in a cellar, who had come from the country within a few months.... Since they came they had had

* Quoted by Dr. W. P. Alison, F.R.S.E., Fellow and late President of the Royal College of Physicians, etc., etc. *Observations on the Management of the Poor in Scotland and its Effects on the Health of Great Towns*, Edinburgh, 1840. The author is a religious Tory, brother of the historian, Archibald Alison.—*Note by Engels*.

^a Here and below the name of this association is given in English in the German original.—*Ed.*

two children dead, and another apparently dying. There was a little bundle of dirty straw in one corner, for one family, and in another for the other. In the place they inhabit it is impossible at noonday to distinguish the features of the human face without artificial light. An ass stood in one corner.—It would almost make a heart of adamant bleed to see such an accumulation of misery in a country like this.”

In the *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*,^a Dr. Hennen reports a similar state of things. From a Parliamentary Report,* it is evident that in the dwellings of the poor of Edinburgh a want of cleanliness reigns, such as must be expected under these conditions. On the bed-posts chickens roost at night, dogs and horses share the dwellings of human beings, and the natural consequence is a shocking stench, with filth and swarms of vermin. The prevailing construction of Edinburgh favours these atrocious conditions as far as possible. The Old Town is built upon both slopes of a hill, along the crest of which runs the High Street. Out of the High Street there open downwards multitudes of narrow, crooked alleys, called wynds^b from their many turnings, and these wynds form the proletarian district of the city. The houses of the Scotch cities, in general, are five or six-storied buildings, like those of Paris, and in contrast with England where, so far as possible, each family has a separate house.^c The crowding of human beings upon a limited area is thus intensified.

“...the houses,” says an English journal in an article upon the sanitary condition of the working-people in cities,** “are often so close together, that persons may step from the window of one house to that of the house opposite—so high, piled story after story, that the light can scarcely penetrate to the court beneath. In this part of the town there are neither sewers nor any private conveniences whatever belonging to the dwellings; and hence the excrementitious and other refuse of at least 50,000 persons is, during the night, thrown into the gutters, causing (in spite of the scavengers’ daily labours) an amount of solid filth and foetid exhalation disgusting

* *Report to the Home Secretary from the Poor-Law Commissioner, on an Inquiry into the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Classes in Great Britain, with Appendix.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament in July, 1842, 3 vols. Folio. Assembled and arranged from medical reports by Edwin Chadwick, Secretary of the Poor-Law Commissioners.—*Note by Engels.* (The last sentence is omitted in the American edition of 1887 and in the English edition of 1892.—*Ed.*)

** *The Artisan*, October, 1843. A monthly journal.—*Note by Engels.* (“A monthly journal” is omitted in the American edition of 1887 and the English edition of 1892.—*Ed.*)

^a Vol. 14, 1818.—*Ed.*

^b This word is in English in the German original.—*Ed.*

^c In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 the end of the sentence reads: “and in contrast with England, where, as far as possible, each family has a separate house, are occupied by a number of families”.—*Ed.*

to both sight and smell, as well as exceedingly prejudicial to health. Can it be wondered that, in such localities, health, morals, and common decency should be at once neglected? No; all who know the private condition of the inhabitants will bear testimony to the immense amount of their disease, misery, and demoralisation. Society in these quarters has sunk to a state indescribably vile and wretched.... The dwellings of the poorer classes are generally very filthy, apparently never subjected to any cleaning process whatever, consisting, in most cases, of a single room, ill-ventilated and yet cold, owing to broken, ill-fitting windows, sometimes damp and partially under ground, and always scantily furnished and altogether comfortless, heaps of straw often serving for beds, in which a whole family—male and female, young and old, are huddled together in revolting confusion. The supplies of water are obtained only from the public pumps, and the trouble of procuring it of course favours the accumulation of all kinds of abominations.”

In the other great seaport towns the prospect is no better. Liverpool, with all its commerce, wealth, and grandeur yet treats its workers with the same barbarity. A full fifth of the population, more than 45,000 human beings, live in narrow, dark, damp, badly-ventilated cellar dwellings, of which there are 7,862 in the city. Besides these cellar dwellings there are 2,270 courts, small spaces built up on all four sides and having but one entrance, a narrow, covered passage-way,^a the whole ordinarily very dirty and inhabited exclusively by proletarians. Of such courts we shall have more to say when we come to Manchester. In Bristol, on one occasion, 2,800 families were visited,¹²⁹ of whom 46 per cent occupied but one room each.

Precisely the same state of things prevails in the factory towns. In Nottingham there are in all 11,000 houses, of which between 7,000 and 8,000 are built back to back with a rear party-wall so that no through ventilation is possible, while a single privy usually serves for several houses. During an investigation made a short time since, many rows of houses were found to have been built over shallow drains covered only by the boards of the ground-floor. In Leicester, Derby, and Sheffield, it is no better. Of Birmingham, the article above cited from the *Artisan* states:

“In the older parts of the town there are many inferior streets and courts, which are dirty and neglected, filled with stagnant water and heaps of refuse. The courts of Birmingham are very numerous in every direction, exceeding 2,000, and comprising the residence of a large portion of the working-classes. They are for the most part narrow, filthy, ill-ventilated, and badly drained, containing from eight to twenty houses each, the houses being built against some other tenement and the end of the courts being pretty constantly occupied by ashpits, etc., the filth of which would defy description. It is but just, however, to remark that the courts of more modern date are built in a more rational manner, and kept tolerably respectable;

^a The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here “allowing no ventilation at all”.—*Ed.*

and the cottages, even in old courts, are far less crowded than in Manchester and Liverpool, the result of which is, that the inhabitants, in epidemic seasons, have been much less visited by death than those of Wolverhampton, Dudley, and Bilston, at only a few miles distance. Cellar residences, also, are unknown in Birmingham, though some few are, very improperly, used as workshops. The low lodging-houses are pretty numerous (somewhat exceeding 400), chiefly in courts near the centre of the town; they are almost always loathsomely filthy and close, the resorts of beggars, trampers,^a thieves and prostitutes, who here, regardless alike of decency or comfort, eat, drink, smoke and sleep in an atmosphere unendurable by all except the degraded, besotted inmates."

Glasgow is in many respects similar to Edinburgh, possessing the same wynds, the same tall houses. Of this city the *Artisan* observes:

The working-class forms here some 78 per cent of the whole population (about 300,000), and lives in parts of the city "which, in abject wretchedness, exceed the lowest purlieu of St. Giles' or Whitechapel, the liberties of Dublin, or the wynds of Edinburgh. Such localities exist most abundantly in the heart of the city—south of the Trongate and west of the Saltmarket, as well as in the Calton, off the High Street, etc.—endless labyrinths of narrow lanes or wynds, into which almost at every step debouche courts or closes formed by old, ill-ventilated, towering houses crumbling to decay, destitute of water and crowded with inhabitants, comprising three or four families (perhaps twenty persons) on each flat, and sometimes each flat let out in lodgings that confine—we dare not say accommodate—from fifteen to twenty persons in a single room. These districts are occupied by the poorest, most depraved, and most worthless portion of the population, and they may be considered as the fruitful source of those pestilential fevers which thence spread their destructive ravages over the whole of Glasgow."

Let us hear how J. C. Symons, Government Commissioner for the investigation of the condition of the hand-weavers, describes these portions of the city*:

"I have seen human degradation in some of its worst phases, both in England and abroad, but I did not believe until I visited the wynds of Glasgow, that so large an amount of filth, crime, misery, and disease existed in any civilised country. In the lower lodging-houses ten, twelve, and sometimes twenty persons of both sexes and all ages sleep promiscuously on the floor in different degrees of nakedness. These places are, generally, as regards dirt, damp and decay, such as no person would stable his horse in."¹³⁰

And in another place:

"The wynds of Glasgow house a fluctuating population of between 15,000 and 30,000 persons. This district is composed of many narrow streets and square courts and in the middle of each court there is a dung-hill. Although the outward appearance of these places was revolting, I was nevertheless quite unprepared for

* *Arts and Artisans at Home and Abroad*, by J. C. Symons, Edinburgh, 1839. The author, as it seems, himself a Scotchman, is a Liberal, and consequently fanatically opposed to every independent movement of working-men. The passages here cited are to be found p. 116 *et seq.*—*Note by Engels.*

^a In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 the quotation is broken by the author's remark "(concerning the exact meaning of this word see below)".—*Ed.*

the filth and misery that were to be found inside. In some of these bedrooms we [i.e. Police Superintendent Captain Miller and Symons] visited at night we found a whole mass of humanity stretched out on the floor. There were often 15 to 20 men and women huddled together, some being clothed and others naked. Their bed was a heap of musty straw mixed with rags. There was hardly any furniture there and the only thing which gave these holes the appearance of a dwelling was fire burning on the hearth. Thieving and prostitution are the main sources of income of these people. No one seems to have taken the trouble to clean out these Augean stables, this pandemonium, this nucleus of crime, filth and pestilence in the second city of the empire. A detailed investigation of the most wretched slums of other towns has never revealed anything half so bad as this concentration of moral iniquity, physical degradation and gross overcrowding.... In this part of Glasgow most of the houses have been condemned by the Court of Guild as dilapidated and uninhabitable—but it is just these dwellings which are filled to overflowing, because, by law no rent can be charged on them.”

The great manufacturing district in the centre of the British Islands, the thickly peopled stretch of West Yorkshire and South Lancashire, with its numerous factory towns, yields nothing to the other great manufacturing centres. The wool district of the West Riding of Yorkshire is a charming region, a beautiful green hill country, whose elevations grow more rugged towards the west until they reach their highest point in the bold ridge of Blackstone Edge, the watershed between the Irish Sea and the German Ocean. The valleys of the Aire, along which stretches Leeds, and of the Calder, through which the Manchester-Leeds railway runs, are among the most attractive in England, and are strewn in all directions with the factories, villages, and towns. The houses of rough grey stone look so neat and clean in comparison with the blackened brick buildings of Lancashire, that it is a pleasure to look at them. But on coming into the towns themselves, one finds little to rejoice over. Leeds lies, as the *Artisan* describes it,^a and as I found confirmed upon examination:

“on a slope running down towards the river Aire, which meanders about a-mile-and-a-half* through the town, and is liable to overflows during thaws or after heavy rains. The higher or western districts are clean for so large a town, but the lower parts contiguous to the river and its becks or rivulets are dirty, confined, and, in themselves, sufficient to shorten life, especially infant life; add to this the disgusting state of the lower parts of the town about Kirk-gate, March-lane, Cross-street and Richmond-road, principally owing to a general want of paving and draining, irregularity of building, the abundance of courts and blind alleys, as well

* Whenever miles are mentioned in the text the author refers—unless otherwise specified—to English miles; 69¹/₂ of these correspond to one degree of the Equator, hence 5 English miles roughly equal one German mile.—*Note by Engels*. (This note is omitted from the American edition of 1887 and the English edition of 1892.—*Ed.*)

^a The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here in brackets: “elsewhere”.—*Ed.*

as the almost total absence of the commonest means for promoting cleanliness, and we have then quite sufficient data to account for the surplus mortality in these unhappy regions of filth and misery.... In consequence of the floods from the Aire" (which, it must be added, like all other rivers in the service of manufacture, flows into the city at one end clear and transparent, and flows out at the other end thick, black, and foul, smelling of all possible refuse), "the dwelling-houses and cellars are not infrequently so inundated that the water has to be pumped out by hand-pumps, on to the surface of the streets; and at such times, even where there are sewers, the water rises through them into the cellars,* creating miasmatic exhalations, strongly charged with sulphuretted hydrogen, and leaving offensive refuse, exceedingly prejudicial to human health. Indeed, during a season of inundation in the spring of 1839, so fatal were the effects of such an engorgement of the sewers, that the registrar of the North district made a report, that during that quarter there were, in that neighbourhood, two births to three deaths, whilst in all the other districts there were three to two deaths." Other populous districts are wholly without sewers, or so inadequately provided as to derive no advantage therefrom. "In some rows of houses, the cellar dwellings are seldom dry"; in certain districts there are several streets covered with soft mud a foot deep. "The inhabitants have from time to time vainly attempted to repair these streets with shovelfuls of ashes; and soil, refuse-water, etc., stand in every hole, there to remain until absorbed by wind or sun....** An ordinary cottage, in Leeds, extends over no more than about five yards square, and consists usually of a cellar, a sitting-room, and a sleeping chamber. This small size of the houses crammed with human beings both day and night, is another point dangerous alike to the morals and the health of the inhabitants."

And how greatly these cottages are crowded, the Report on the Health of the Working-Classes, quoted above,^a bears testimony:

"In Leeds, brothers and sisters, and lodgers of both sexes, are found occupying the same sleeping-room with the parents, and consequences occur which humanity shudders to contemplate."

So, too, Bradford, which, but seven miles from Leeds at the junction of several valleys, lies upon the banks of a small, coal-black, foul-smelling stream. On week-days the town is enveloped in a grey cloud of coal smoke, but on a fine Sunday it offers a superb picture, when viewed from the surrounding heights. Yet within reigns the same filth and discomfort as in Leeds. The older portions of the town are built upon steep hillsides, and are narrow and irregular. In the lanes, alleys, and courts lie filth and *débris* in heaps; the houses are ruinous, dirty, and miserable, and in the immediate vicinity of the river and the valley bottom I found many a one whose ground-floor, half-buried

* It must be borne in mind that these cellars are not mere storing-rooms for rubbish, but dwellings of human beings.—*Note by Engels.*

** Compare Report of the Town Council in the *Statistical Journal*, Vol. 2, p. 404.—*Note by Engels.* (In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 this reference is given in the text as an author's remark.—*Ed.*)

^a See p. 339 of this volume.—*Ed.*

in the hillside, was totally abandoned. In general, the portions of the valley bottom in which working-men's cottages have crowded between the tall factories, are among the worst-built and dirtiest districts of the whole town. In the newer portions of this, as of every other factory town, the cottages are more regular, being built in rows, but they share here, too, all the evils incident to the customary method of providing working-men's dwellings, evils of which we shall have occasions to speak more particularly in discussing Manchester. The same is true of the remaining towns of the West Riding, especially of Barnsley, Halifax, and Huddersfield. The last named, the handsomest by far of all the factory towns of Yorkshire and Lancashire by reason of its charming situation and modern architecture, has yet its bad quarter; for a committee appointed by a meeting of citizens to survey the town reported August 5th, 1844:

"It is notorious that there are whole streets in the town of Huddersfield, and many courts and alleys, which are neither flagged, paved, sewered, nor drained; where garbage and filth of every description are left on the surface to ferment and rot; where pools of stagnant water are almost constant, where the dwellings adjoining are thus necessarily caused to be of an inferior and even filthy description; thus where disease is engendered, and the health of the whole town perilled."¹³¹

If we cross Blackstone Edge or penetrate it with the railroad, we enter upon that classic soil on which English manufacture has achieved its masterwork and from which all labour movements emanate, namely, South Lancashire with its central city Manchester. Again we have beautiful hill country, sloping gently from the watershed westwards towards the Irish Sea, with the charming green valleys of the Ribble, the Irwell, the Mersey, and their tributaries, a country which, a hundred years ago chiefly swamp land, thinly populated, is now sown with towns and villages, and is the most densely populated strip of country in England. In Lancashire, and especially in Manchester, English manufacture finds at once its starting-point and its centre. The Manchester Exchange is the thermometer for all the fluctuations of trade. The modern art of manufacture has reached its perfection in Manchester. In the cotton industry of South Lancashire, the application of the forces of Nature, the superseding of hand-labour by machinery (especially by the power-loom and the self-acting mule), and the division of labour, are seen at the highest point; and, if we recognise in these three elements that which is characteristic of modern manufacture, we must confess that the cotton industry has remained in advance of all other branches of industry from the beginning down to the present day. The effects of modern

manufacture upon the working-class must necessarily develop here most freely and perfectly, and the manufacturing proletariat present itself in its fullest classic perfection. The degradation to which the application of steam-power, machinery and the division of labour reduce the working-man, and the attempts of the proletariat to rise above this abasement, must likewise be carried to the highest point and with the fullest consciousness. Hence because Manchester is the classic type of a modern manufacturing town, and because I know it as intimately as my own native town, more intimately than most of its residents know it, we shall make a longer stay here.

The towns surrounding Manchester vary little from the central city, so far as the working-people's quarters are concerned, except that the working-class forms, if possible, a larger proportion of their population. These towns are purely industrial and conduct all their business through Manchester upon which they are in every respect dependent, whence they are inhabited only by working-men and petty tradesmen, while Manchester has a very considerable commercial population, especially of commission and "respectable" retail dealers. Hence Bolton, Preston, Wigan, Bury, Rochdale, Middleton, Heywood, Oldham, Ashton, Stalybridge, Stockport, etc., though nearly all towns of thirty, fifty, seventy to ninety thousand inhabitants, are almost wholly working-people's districts, interspersed only with factories, a few thoroughfares lined with shops, and a few lanes along which the gardens and houses of the manufacturers are scattered like villas. The towns themselves are badly and irregularly built with foul courts, lanes, and back alleys, reeking of coal smoke, and especially dingy from the originally bright red brick, turned black with time, which is here the universal building material. Cellar dwellings are general here; wherever it is in any way possible, these subterranean dens are constructed, and a very considerable portion of the population dwells in them.

Among the worst of these towns after Preston and Oldham is Bolton, eleven miles north-west of Manchester. It has, so far as I have been able to observe in my repeated visits, but one main street, a very dirty one, Deansgate, which serves as a market, and is even in the finest weather a dark, unattractive hole in spite of the fact that, except for the factories, its sides are formed by low one and two-storied houses. Here, as everywhere, the older part of the town is especially ruinous and miserable. A dark-coloured body of water, which leaves the beholder in doubt whether it is a brook or a long string of stagnant puddles, flows through the

town and contributes its share to the total pollution of the air, by no means pure without it.

There is Stockport, too, which lies on the Cheshire side of the Mersey, but belongs nevertheless to the manufacturing district of Manchester. It lies in a narrow valley along the Mersey, so that the streets slope down a steep hill on one side and up an equally steep one on the other, while the railway from Manchester to Birmingham passes over a high viaduct above the city and the whole valley. Stockport is renowned throughout the entire district as one of the duskiest, smokiest holes, and looks, indeed, especially when viewed from the viaduct, excessively repellent. But far more repulsive are the cottages and cellar dwellings of the working-class, which stretch in long rows through all parts of the town from the valley bottom to the crest of the hill. I do not remember to have seen so many cellars used as dwellings in any other town of this district.

A few miles north-east of Stockport is Ashton-under-Lyne, one of the newest factory towns of this region. It stands on the slope of a hill at the foot of which are the canal and the river Tame, and is, in general, built on the newer, more regular plan. Five or six parallel streets stretch along the hill, intersected at right angles by others leading down into the valley. By this method, the factories would be excluded from the town proper, even if the proximity of the river and the canal-way did not draw them all into the valley where they stand thickly crowded, belching forth black smoke from their chimneys. To this arrangement Ashton owes a much more attractive appearance than that of most factory towns; the streets are broader and cleaner, the cottages look new, bright red, and comfortable. But the modern system of building cottages for working-men has its own disadvantages; every street has its concealed back lane to which a narrow paved path leads, and which is all the dirtier. And, although I saw no buildings, except a few on entering, which could have been more than fifty years old, there are even in Ashton streets in which the cottages are getting bad, where the bricks in the house-corners are no longer firm but shift about, in which the walls have cracks and will not hold the chalk whitewash inside; streets, whose dirty, smoke-begrimed aspect is nowise different from that of the other towns of the district, except that in Ashton this is the exception, not the rule.

A mile eastward lies Stalybridge, also on the Tame. In coming over the hill from Ashton, the traveller has, at the top, both right and left, fine large gardens with superb villa-like houses in their midst, built usually in the Elizabethan style, which is to the Gothic precisely what the Anglican Church is to the Apostolic Roman

Catholic. A hundred paces farther and Stalybridge shows itself in the valley, in sharp contrast with the beautiful country seats, in sharp contrast even with the modest cottages of Ashton! Stalybridge lies in a narrow, crooked ravine, much narrower even than the valley at Stockport, and both sides of this ravine are occupied by an irregular group of cottages, houses, and mills. On entering, the very first cottages are narrow, smoke-begrimed, old and ruinous; and as the first houses, so the whole town. A few streets lie in the narrow valley bottom, most of them run criss-cross, pell-mell, up hill and down, and in nearly all the houses, by reason of this sloping situation, the ground-floor is half-buried in the earth; and what multitudes of courts, back lanes, and remote nooks arise out of this confused way of building may be seen from the hills, whence one has the town, here and there, in a bird's-eye view almost at one's feet. Add to this the shocking filth, and the repulsive effect of Stalybridge, in spite of its pretty surroundings, may be readily imagined.

But enough of these little towns. Each has its own peculiarities, but in general, the working-people live in them just as in Manchester. Hence I have especially sketched only their peculiar construction, and would observe that all more general observations as to the condition of the labouring population in Manchester are fully applicable to these surrounding towns as well.^a

Manchester lies at the foot of the southern slope of a range of hills, which stretch hither from Oldham,^b their last peak, Kersall-moor, being at once the racecourse and the Mons Sacer of Manchester.¹³² Manchester proper lies on the left bank of the Irwell, between that stream and the two smaller ones, the Irk and the Medlock, which here empty into the Irwell. On the right bank of the Irwell, bounded by a sharp curve of the river, lies Salford, and farther westward Pendleton; northward from the Irwell lie Upper and Lower Broughton; northward of the Irk, Cheetham Hill; south of the Medlock lies Hulme; farther east Chorlton on Medlock; still farther, pretty well to the east of Manchester, Ardwick. The whole assemblage of buildings is commonly called Manchester, and contains about four hundred thousand inhabitants, rather more than less. The town itself is peculiarly built, so that a person may live in it for years, and go in and out daily without coming into contact with a working-people's quarter or

^a The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here one more sentence: "We now turn our attention to the principal town."—*Ed.*

^b The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "between the valleys of the Irwell and the Medlock"—*Ed.*

even with workers, that is, so long as he confines himself to his business or to pleasure walks. This arises chiefly from the fact, that by unconscious tacit agreement, as well as with outspoken conscious determination, the working-people's quarters are sharply separated from the sections of the city reserved for the middle-class; or, if this does not succeed, they are concealed with the cloak of charity. Manchester contains, at its heart, a rather extended commercial district, perhaps half a mile long and about as broad, and consisting almost wholly of offices and warehouses. Nearly the whole district is abandoned by dwellers, and is lonely and deserted at night; only watchmen and policemen traverse its narrow lanes with their dark lanterns. This district is cut through by certain main thoroughfares upon which the vast traffic concentrates, and in which the ground level is lined with brilliant shops. In these streets the upper floors are occupied, here and there, and there is a good deal of life upon them until late at night. With the exception of this commercial district, all Manchester proper, all Salford and Hulme, a great part of Pendleton and Chorlton, two-thirds of Ardwick, and single stretches of Cheetham Hill and Broughton are all unmixed working-people's quarters, stretching like a girdle, averaging a mile and a half in breadth, around the commercial district. Outside, beyond this girdle, lives the upper and middle bourgeoisie, the middle bourgeoisie in regularly laid out streets in the vicinity of the working quarters, especially in Chorlton and the lower lying portions of Cheetham Hill; the upper bourgeoisie in remoter villas with gardens in Chorlton and Ardwick, or on the breezy heights of Cheetham Hill, Broughton, and Pendleton, in free, wholesome country air, in fine, comfortable homes, passed once every half or quarter hour by omnibuses going into the city. And the finest part of the arrangement is this, that the members of this money aristocracy can take the shortest road through the middle of all the labouring districts to their places of business without ever seeing that they are in the midst of the grimy misery that lurks to the right and the left. For the thoroughfares leading from the Exchange in all directions out of the city are lined, on both sides, with an almost unbroken series of shops, and are so kept in the hands of the middle and lower bourgeoisie, which, out of self-interest, cares for a decent and cleanly external appearance and *can* care for it. True, these shops bear some relation to the districts which lie behind them, and are more elegant in the commercial and residential quarters than when they hide grimy working-men's dwellings; but they suffice to conceal from the eyes of the wealthy men and women of strong

stomachs and weak nerves the misery and grime which form the complement of their wealth.^a So, for instance, Deansgate, which leads from the Old Church directly southward, is lined first with mills and warehouses, then with second-rate shops and alehouses; farther south, when it leaves the commercial district, with less inviting shops, which grow dirtier and more interrupted by beerhouses and gin-palaces the farther one goes, until at the southern end the appearance of the shops leaves no doubt that workers and workers only are their customers. So Market Street running south-east from the Exchange; at first brilliant shops of the best sort, with counting-houses or warehouses above; in the continuation, Piccadilly, immense hotels and warehouses; in the farther continuation, London Road, in the neighbourhood of the Medlock, factories, beerhouses, shops for the humbler bourgeoisie and the working population^b; and from this point onward, large gardens and villas of the wealthier merchants and manufacturers. In this way any one who knows Manchester can infer the adjoining districts from the appearance of the thoroughfare, but one is seldom in a position to catch from the street a glimpse of the real labouring districts. I know very well that this hypocritical plan is more or less common to all great cities; I know, too, that the retail dealers are forced by the nature of their business to take possession of the great highways; I know that there are more good buildings than bad ones upon such streets everywhere, and that the value of land is greater near them than in remoter districts; but at the same time I have never seen so systematic a shutting out of the working-class from the thoroughfares, so tender a concealment of everything which might affront the eye and the nerves of the bourgeoisie, as in Manchester. And yet, in other respects, Manchester is less built according to a plan, after official^c regulations, is more an outgrowth of accident than any other city; and when I consider in this connection the eager assurances of the middle-class, that the working-class is doing famously, I cannot help feeling that the Liberal manufacturers, the "Big Wigs"^d of Manchester, are not so innocent after all, in the matter of this shameful method of construction.

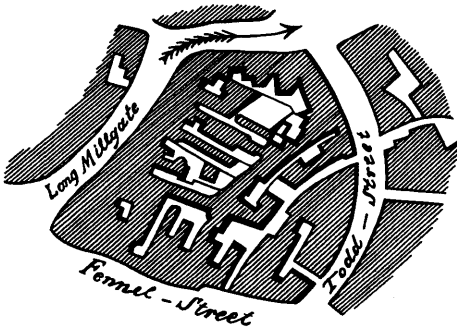
^a The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "wealth and luxury".—*Ed.*

^b The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "then along Ardwick Green are houses for the higher and middle bourgeoisie".—*Ed.*

^c The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "police" instead of "official".—*Ed.*

^d The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have these two words in English.—*Ed.*

I may mention just here that the mills almost all adjoin the rivers or the different canals that ramify throughout the city, before I proceed at once to describe the labouring quarters. First of all, there is the Old Town of Manchester, which lies between the northern boundary of the commercial district and the Irk. Here the streets, even the better ones, are narrow and winding, as Todd Street, Long Millgate, Withy Grove, and Shude Hill, the houses



dirty, old, and tumble-down, and the construction of the side streets utterly horrible. Going from the Old Church to Long Millgate, the stroller has at once a row of old-fashioned houses at the right, of which not one has kept its original level; these are remnants of the old pre-manufacturing Manchester, whose former inhabitants

have removed with their descendants into better-built districts, and have left the houses, which were not good enough for them, to a population strongly mixed with Irish blood. Here one is in an almost undisguised working-men's quarter, for even the shops and beerhouses hardly take the trouble to exhibit a trifling degree of cleanliness. But all this is nothing in comparison with the courts and lanes which lie behind, to which access can be gained only through covered passages, in which no two human beings can pass at the same time. Of the irregular cramming together of dwellings in ways which defy all rational plan, of the tangle in which they are crowded literally one upon the other, it is impossible to convey an idea. And it is not the buildings surviving from the old times of Manchester which are to blame for this; the confusion has only recently reached its height when every scrap of space left by the old way of building has been filled up and patched over until not a foot of land is left to be further occupied.

To confirm my statement I have drawn here a small section of the plan of Manchester—not the worst spot and not one-tenth of the whole Old Town.^a

^a The drawings reproduced in the book as well as the relevant texts here and below are taken from the German editions of 1845 and 1892. In the American edition of 1887 and the English edition of 1892 they are omitted.—Ed.

This drawing will suffice to characterise the irrational manner in which the entire district was built, particularly the part near the Irk.

The south bank of the Irk is here very steep and between fifteen and thirty feet high. On this declivitous hillside there are planted three rows of houses, of which the lowest rise directly out of the river, while the front walls of the highest stand on the crest of the hill in Long Millgate. Among them are mills on the river, in short, the method of construction is as crowded and disorderly here as in the lower part of Long Millgate. Right and left a multitude of covered passages lead from the main street into numerous courts, and he who turns in thither gets into a filth and disgusting grime, the equal of which is not to be found—especially in the courts which lead down to the Irk, and which contain unqualifiedly the most horrible dwellings which I have yet beheld. In one of these courts there stands directly at the entrance, at the end of the covered passage, a privy without a door, so dirty that the inhabitants can pass into and out of the court only by passing through foul pools of stagnant urine and excrement. This is the first court on the Irk above Ducie Bridge—in case any one should care to look into it. Below it on the river there are several tanneries which fill the whole neighbourhood with the stench of animal putrefaction. Below Ducie Bridge the only entrance to most of the houses is by means of narrow, dirty stairs and over heaps of refuse and filth. The first court below Ducie Bridge, known as Allen's Court, was in such a state at the time of the cholera that the sanitary police ordered it evacuated, swept, and disinfected with chloride of lime. Dr. Kay gives a terrible description of the state of this court at that time.* Since then, it seems to have been partially torn away and rebuilt; at least looking down from Ducie Bridge, the passer-by sees several ruined walls and heaps of *débris* with some newer houses. The view from this bridge, mercifully concealed from mortals of small stature by a parapet as high as a man, is characteristic for the whole district. At the bottom flows, or rather stagnates, the Irk, a narrow, coal-black, foul-smelling stream, full of *débris* and refuse, which it deposits on the shallower right bank. In dry weather, a long string of the most disgusting, blackish-green, slime pools are left standing on this

* *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester.* By James Ph. Kay, M.D. 2nd Ed. 1832.

Dr. Kay confuses the working-class in general with the factory workers, otherwise an excellent pamphlet.—*Note by Engels.*

bank, from the depths of which bubbles of miasmatic gas constantly arise and give forth a stench unendurable even on the bridge forty or fifty feet above the surface of the stream. But besides this, the stream itself is checked every few paces by high weirs, behind which slime and refuse accumulate and rot in thick masses. Above the bridge are tanneries,^a bonemills, and gasworks, from which all drains and refuse find their way into the Irk, which receives further the contents of all the neighbouring sewers and privies. It may be easily imagined, therefore, what sort of residue the stream deposits. Below the bridge you look upon the piles of *débris*, the refuse, filth, and offal from the courts on the steep left bank; here each house is packed close behind its neighbour and a piece of each is visible, all black, smoky, crumbling, ancient, with broken panes and window-frames. The background is furnished by old barrack-like factory buildings. On the lower right bank stands a long row of houses and mills; the second house being a ruin without a roof, piled with *débris*; the third stands so low that the lowest floor is uninhabitable, and therefore without windows or doors. Here the background embraces the pauper burial-ground, the station of the Liverpool and Leeds railway, and, in the rear of this, the Workhouse, the "Poor-Law Bastille" of Manchester, which, like a citadel, looks threateningly down from behind its high walls and parapets on the hilltop, upon the working-people's quarter below.

Above Ducie Bridge, the left bank grows more flat and the right bank steeper, but the condition of the dwellings on both banks grows worse rather than better. He who turns to the left here from the main street, Long Millgate, is lost; he wanders from one court to another, turns countless corners, passes nothing but narrow, filthy nooks and alleys, until after a few minutes he has lost all clue, and knows not whither to turn. Everywhere half or wholly ruined buildings, some of them actually uninhabited, which means a great deal here; rarely a wooden or stone floor to be seen in the houses, almost uniformly broken, ill-fitting windows and doors, and a state of filth! Everywhere heaps of *débris*, refuse, and offal; standing pools for gutters, and a stench which alone would make it impossible for a human being in any degree civilised to live in such a district. The newly built extension of the Leeds railway, which crosses the Irk here, has swept away some of these courts and lanes, laying others completely open to view. Immediately

^a The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "dye-works" after "tanneries".—Ed.

under the railway bridge there stands a court, the filth and horrors of which surpass all the others by far, just because it was hitherto so shut off, so secluded that the way to it could not be found without a good deal of trouble. I should never have discovered it myself, without the breaks made by the railway, though I thought I knew this whole region thoroughly. Passing along a rough bank, among stakes and washing-lines, one penetrates into this chaos of small one-storied, one-roomed huts, in most of which there is no artificial floor; kitchen, living and sleeping-room all in one. In such a hole, scarcely five feet long by six broad, I found two beds—and such bedsteads and beds!—which, with a staircase and chimney-place, exactly filled the room. In several others I found absolutely nothing, while the door stood open, and the inhabitants leaned against it. Everywhere before the doors refuse and offal; that any sort of pavement lay underneath could not be seen but only felt, here and there, with the feet. This whole collection of cattle-sheds for human beings was surrounded on two sides by houses and a factory, and on the third by the river, and besides the narrow stair up the bank, a narrow doorway alone led out into another almost equally ill-built, ill-kept labyrinth of dwellings.

Enough! The whole side of the Irk is built in this way, a planless, knotted chaos of houses, more or less on the verge of uninhabitableness, whose unclean interiors fully correspond with their filthy external surroundings. And how could the people be clean with no proper opportunity for satisfying the most natural and ordinary wants? Privies are so rare here that they are either filled up every day, or are too remote for most of the inhabitants to use. How can people wash when they have only the dirty Irk water at hand, while pumps and water pipes can be found in decent parts of the city alone? In truth, it cannot be charged to the account of these helots of modern society if their dwellings are not more cleanly than the pig-sties which are here and there to be seen among them. The landlords are not ashamed to let dwellings like the six or seven cellars on the quay directly below Scotland Bridge, the floors of which stand at least two feet below the low-water level of the Irk that flows not six feet away from them; or like the upper floor of the corner-house on the opposite shore directly above the bridge, where the ground-floor, utterly uninhabitable, stands deprived of all fittings for doors and windows, a case by no means rare in this region, when this open ground-floor is used as a privy by the whole neighbourhood for want of other facilities!

If we leave the Irk and penetrate once more on the opposite side from Long Millgate into the midst of the working-men's dwellings, we shall come into a somewhat newer quarter, which stretches from St. Michael's Church to Withy Grove and Shude Hill. Here there is somewhat better order. In place of the chaos of buildings, we find at least long straight lanes and alleys or courts, built according to a plan and usually square. But if, in the former case, every house was built according to caprice, here each lane and court is so built, without reference to the situation of the adjoining ones. The lanes run now in this direction, now in that, while every two minutes the wanderer gets into a blind alley, or, on turning a corner, finds himself back where he started from; certainly no one who has not lived a considerable time in this labyrinth can find his way through it.

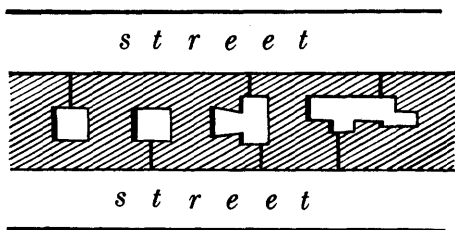
If I may use the word at all in speaking of this district, the ventilation of these streets and courts is, in consequence of this confusion, quite as imperfect as in the Irk region; and if this quarter may, nevertheless, be said to have some advantage over that of the Irk, the houses being newer and the streets occasionally having gutters, nearly every house has, on the other hand, a cellar dwelling, which is rarely found in the Irk district, by reason of the greater age and more careless construction of the houses. As for the rest, the filth, *débris*, and offal heaps, and the pools in the streets are common to both quarters, and in the district now under discussion, another feature most injurious to the cleanliness of the inhabitants, is the multitude of pigs walking about in all the alleys, rooting into the offal heaps, or kept imprisoned in small pens. Here, as in most of the working-men's quarters of Manchester, the pork-raisers rent the courts and build pig-pens in them. In almost every court one or even several such pens may be found, into which the inhabitants of the court throw all refuse and offal, whence the swine grow fat; and the atmosphere, confined on all four sides, is utterly corrupted by putrefying animal and vegetable substances. Through this quarter, a broad and measurably decent street has been cut, Millers Street, and the background has been pretty successfully concealed. But if any one should be led by curiosity to pass through one of the numerous passages which lead into the courts, he will find this piggery repeated at every twenty paces.

Such is the Old Town of Manchester, and on re-reading my description, I am forced to admit that instead of being exaggerated, it is far from black enough to convey a true impression of the filth, ruin, and uninhabitableness, the defiance of all consider-

ations of cleanliness, ventilation, and health which characterise the construction of this single district, containing at least twenty to thirty thousand inhabitants. And such a district exists in the heart of the second city of England, the first manufacturing city of the world. If any one wishes to see in how little space a human being can move, how little air—and *such* air!—he can breathe, how little of civilisation he may share and yet live, it is only necessary to travel hither. True, this is the *Old Town*, and the people of Manchester emphasise the fact whenever any one mentions to them the frightful condition of this Hell upon Earth; but what does that prove? Everything which here arouses horror and indignation is of recent origin, belongs to the *industrial epoch*. The couple of hundred houses, which belong to old Manchester, have been long since abandoned by their original inhabitants; the industrial epoch alone has crammed into them the swarms of workers whom they now shelter; the industrial epoch alone has built up every spot between these old houses to win a covering for the masses whom it has conjured hither from the agricultural districts and from Ireland; the industrial epoch alone enables the owners of these cattlesheds to rent them for high prices to human beings, to plunder the poverty of the workers, to undermine the health of thousands, in order that they *alone*, the owners, may grow rich. In the industrial epoch alone has it become possible that the worker scarcely freed from feudal servitude could be used as mere material, a mere chattel; that he must let himself be crowded into a dwelling too bad for every other, which he for his hard-earned wages buys the right to let go utterly to ruin. This manufacture has achieved, which, without these workers, this poverty, this slavery could not have lived. True, the original construction of this quarter was bad, little good could have been made out of it; but, have the landowners, has the municipality done anything to improve it when rebuilding? On the contrary, wherever a nook or corner was free, a house has been run up; where a superfluous passage remained, it has been built up; the value of land rose with the blossoming out of manufacture, and the more it rose, the more madly was the work of building up carried on, without reference to the health or comfort of the inhabitants, with sole reference to the highest possible profit on the principle that *no hole is so bad but that some poor creature must take it who can pay for nothing better*. However, it is the *Old Town*, and with this reflection the bourgeoisie is comforted. Let us see, therefore, how much better it is in the *New Town*.

The *New Town*, known also as Irish Town, stretches up a hill of clay, beyond the Old Town, between the Irk and St. George's Road. Here all the features of a city are lost. Single rows of houses or groups of streets stand, here and there, like little villages on the naked, not even grass-grown clay soil; the houses, or rather cottages, are in bad order, never repaired, filthy, with damp, unclean, cellar dwellings; the lanes are neither paved nor supplied with sewers, but harbour numerous colonies of swine penned in small sties or yards, or wandering unrestrained through the neighbourhood. The mud in the streets is so deep that there is never a chance, except in the driest weather, of walking without sinking into it ankle deep at every step. In the vicinity of St. George's Road, the separate groups of buildings approach each other more closely, ending in a continuation of lanes, blind alleys, back lanes and courts, which grow more and more crowded and irregular the nearer they approach the heart of the town. True, they are here oftener paved or supplied with paved sidewalks and gutters; but the filth, the bad order of the houses, and especially of the cellars, remain the same.

It may not be out of place to make some general observations just here as to the customary construction of working-men's quarters in Manchester. We have seen how in the Old Town pure accident determined the grouping of the houses in general. Every house is built without reference to any other, and the scraps of space between them are called courts for want of another name.



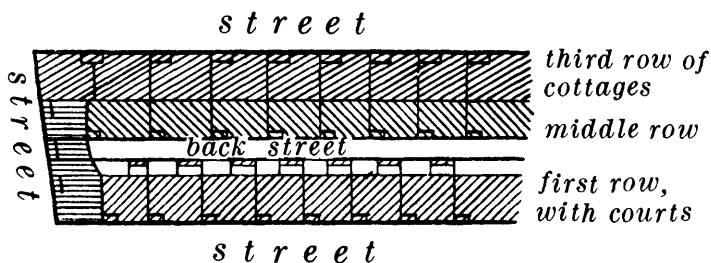
In the somewhat newer portions of the same quarter, and in other working-men's quarters, dating from the early days of industrial activity, a somewhat more orderly arrangement may be found. The space between two streets is divided into more regular, usually square courts.

These courts were built in this way from the beginning,^a and communicate with the streets by means of covered passages. If the totally planless construction is injurious to the health of the workers by preventing ventilation, this method of shutting them up in courts surrounded on all sides by buildings is far more so. The air simply cannot escape; the chimneys of the houses are the

^a The accompanying drawing is reproduced according to the German editions of 1845 and 1892.—*Ed.*

sole drains for the imprisoned atmosphere of the courts, and they serve the purpose only so long as fire is kept burning.* Moreover, the houses surrounding such courts are usually built back to back, having the rear wall in common; and this alone suffices to prevent any sufficient through ventilation. And, as the police charged with care of the streets does not trouble itself about the condition of these courts, as everything quietly lies where it is thrown, there is no cause for wonder at the filth and heaps of ashes and offal to be found here. I have been in courts, in Millers Street, at least half a foot below the level of the thoroughfare, and without the slightest drainage for the water that accumulates in them in rainy weather!

More recently another different method of building was adopted, and has now become general. Working-men's cottages are almost never built singly, but always by the dozen or score; a single contractor building up one or two streets at a time. These are then arranged as follows: One front is formed of cottages of the best class, so fortunate as to possess a back door and small court, and these command the highest rent. In the rear of these cottages runs a narrow alley, the back street, built up at both ends, into which either a narrow roadway or a covered passage leads from one side. The cottages which face this back street command least rent, and are most neglected. These have their rear walls in common with the third row of cottages, which face a second street and command less rent than the first row and more than the second. The streets are laid out somewhat in the following manner:^a



* And yet an English Liberal wiseacre asserts, in the *Report of the Children's Employment Commission*, that these courts are the masterpiece of municipal architecture, because, like a multitude of little parks, they improve ventilation, the circulation of air! Certainly, if each court had two or four broad open entrances facing each other, through which the air could pour; but they never have two, rarely one, and usually only a narrow covered passage.—*Note by Engels.* (The reference is to Grainger's assertion concerning Birmingham courts.—*Ed.*)

^a The drawing and the words referring to it are reproduced according to the German editions of 1845 and 1892.—*Ed.*

By this method of construction, comparatively good ventilation can be obtained for the first row of cottages, and the third row is no worse off than in the former method. The middle row, on the other hand, is at least as badly ventilated as the houses in the courts, and the 'back street is always in the same filthy, disgusting condition as they. The contractors prefer this method because it saves them space, and furnishes the means of fleecing better-paid workers through the higher rents of the cottages in the first and third rows.

These three different forms of cottage building are found all over Manchester and throughout Lancashire and Yorkshire, often mixed up together, but usually separate enough to indicate the relative age of parts of towns. The third system, that of the back alleys, prevails largely in the great working-men's district east of St. George's Road and Ancoats Street,^a and is the one most often found in the other working-men's quarters of Manchester and its suburbs.

In the last-mentioned broad district included under the name Ancoats, stand the largest mills of Manchester lining the canals, colossal six and seven-storied buildings towering with their slender chimneys far above the low cottages of the workers. The population of the district consists, therefore, chiefly of mill-hands, and in the worst streets, of hand-weavers. The streets nearest the heart of the town are the oldest, and consequently the worst; they are, however, paved, and supplied with drains. Among them I include those nearest to and parallel with Oldham Road and Great Ancoats Street. Farther to the north-east lie many newly built-up streets; here the cottages look neat and cleanly, doors and windows are new and freshly painted, the rooms within newly whitewashed; the streets themselves are better aired, the vacant building lots between them larger and more numerous. But this can be said of a minority of the houses only, while cellar dwellings are to be found under almost every cottage; many streets are unpaved and without sewers; and, worse than all, this neat appearance is all pretence, a pretence which vanishes within the first ten years. For the construction of the cottages individually is no less to be condemned than the plan of the streets. All such cottages look neat and substantial at first; their massive brick walls deceive the eye, and, on passing through a *newly built* working-men's street, without remembering the back alleys and the con-

^a The German editions of 1845 and 1892 read as follows: "east of St. George's Road on both sides of Oldham Road and Great Ancoats Street".—*Ed.*

struction of the houses themselves, one is inclined to agree with the assertion of the Liberal manufacturers that the working population is nowhere so well housed as in England. But on closer examination, it becomes evident that the walls of these cottages are as thin as it is possible to make them. The outer walls, those of the cellar, which bear the weight of the ground-floor and roof, are one whole brick thick at most, the bricks lying with their long sides touching (□□□□□); but I have seen many a cottage of the same height, some in process of building, whose outer walls were but one-half brick thick, the bricks lying not sidewise but lengthwise, their narrow ends touching (□□□□□).^a The object of this is to spare material, but there is also another reason for it; namely, the fact that the contractors never own the land but lease it, according to the English custom, for twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, or ninety-nine years, at the expiration of which time it falls, with everything upon it, back into the possession of the original holder, who pays nothing in return for improvements upon it. The improvements are therefore so calculated by the lessee as to be worth as little as possible at the expiration of the stipulated term. And as such cottages are often built but twenty or thirty years before the expiration of the term, it may easily be imagined that the contractors make no unnecessary expenditures upon them. Moreover, these contractors, usually carpenters and builders, or manufacturers, spend little or nothing in repairs, partly to avoid diminishing their rent receipts, and partly in view of the approaching surrender of the improvement to the landowner; while in consequence of commercial crises and the loss of work that follows them, whole streets often stand empty, the cottages falling rapidly into ruin and uninhabitableness. It is calculated in general that working-men's cottages last only forty years on the average. This sounds strangely enough when one sees the beautiful, massive walls of newly built ones, which seem to give promise of lasting a couple of centuries; but the fact remains that the niggardliness of the original expenditure, the neglect of all repairs, the frequent periods of emptiness, the constant change of inhabitants, and the destruction carried on by the dwellers during the final ten years, usually Irish families, who do not hesitate to use the wooden portions for firewood—all this, taken together, accomplishes the complete ruin of the cottages by the end of forty years. Hence it comes that Ancoats, built chiefly since the sudden

^a The drawings are reproduced according to the German editions of 1845 and 1892.—*Ed.*

growth of manufacture, chiefly indeed within the present century, contains a vast number of ruinous houses, most of them being, in fact, in the last stages of inhabiteness. I will not dwell upon the amount of capital thus wasted, the small additional expenditure upon the original improvement and upon repairs which would suffice to keep this whole district clean, decent, and inhabitable for years together. I have to deal here with the state of the houses and their inhabitants, and it must be admitted that no more injurious and demoralising method of housing the workers has yet been discovered than precisely this. The working-man is constrained to occupy such ruinous dwellings because he cannot pay for others, and because there are no others^a in the vicinity of his mill; perhaps, too, because they belong to the employer, who engages him only on condition of his taking such a cottage. The calculation with reference to the forty years' duration of the cottage is, of course, not always perfectly strict; for, if the dwellings are in a thickly built-up portion of the town, and there is a good prospect of finding steady occupants for them, while the ground-rent is high, the contractors do a little something to keep the cottages inhabitable after the expiration of the forty years. They never do anything more, however, than is absolutely unavoidable, and the dwellings so repaired are the worst of all. Occasionally when an epidemic threatens, the otherwise sleepy conscience of the sanitary police is a little stirred, raids are made into the working-men's districts, whole rows of cellars and cottages are closed, as happened in the case of several lanes near Oldham Road; but this does not last long: the condemned cottages soon find occupants again, the owners are much better off by letting them, and the sanitary police won't come again so soon. These east and north-east sides of Manchester are the only ones on which the bourgeoisie has not built, because ten or eleven months of the year the west and south-west wind drives the smoke of all the factories hither,^b and that the working-people alone may breathe.

Southward from Great Ancoats Street, lies a great, straggling, working-men's quarter, a hilly, barren stretch of land, occupied by detached, irregularly built rows of houses or squares, between these, empty building lots, uneven, clayey, without grass and scarcely passable in wet weather. The cottages are all filthy and

^a The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "no better ones" instead of "no others".—*Ed.*

^b The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "—and there is plenty of it".—*Ed.*

old,^a and recall the New Town to mind. The stretch cut through by the Birmingham railway is the most thickly built-up and the worst. Here flows the Medlock with countless windings through a valley, which is, in places, on a level with the valley of the Irk. Along both sides of the stream, which is coal-black, stagnant and foul,^b stretches a broad belt of factories and working-men's dwellings, the latter all in the worst condition. The bank is chiefly declivitous and is built over to the water's edge, just as we saw along the Irk; while the houses are equally bad, whether built on the Manchester side or in Ardwick, Chorlton, or Hulme. But the most horrible spot (if I should describe all the separate spots in detail I should never come to the end) lies on the Manchester side, immediately south-west of Oxford Road, and is known as Little Ireland. In a rather deep hole, in a curve of the Medlock and surrounded on all four sides by tall factories and high embankments, covered with buildings, stand two groups of about two hundred cottages, built chiefly back to back, in which live about four thousand human beings, most of them Irish. The cottages are old, dirty, and of the smallest sort, the streets uneven, fallen into ruts and in part without drains or pavement; masses of refuse, offal and sickening filth lie among standing pools in all directions; the atmosphere is poisoned by the effluvia from these, and laden and darkened by the smoke of a dozen tall factory chimneys. A horde of ragged women and children swarm about here, as filthy as the swine that thrive upon the garbage heaps and in the puddles. In short, the whole rookery furnishes such a hateful and repulsive spectacle as can hardly be equalled in the worst court on the Irk. The race that lives in these ruinous cottages, behind broken windows, mended with oilskin, sprung doors, and rotten doorposts, or in dark, wet cellars, in measureless filth and stench, in this atmosphere penned in as if with a purpose, this race must really have reached the lowest stage of humanity. This is the impression and the line of thought which the exterior of this district forces upon the beholder. But what must one think when he hears that in each of these pens, containing at most two rooms, a garret and perhaps a cellar, on the average twenty human beings live; that in the whole region, for each one hundred and twenty persons, one usually inaccessible privy is provided; and that in

^a The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "often lie in hollows".—*Ed.*

^b The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "from where it enters the town until it joins the Irwell".—*Ed.*

spite of all the preachings of the physicians, in spite of the excitement into which the cholera epidemic plunged the sanitary police by reason of the condition of Little Ireland, in spite of everything, in this year of grace 1844, it is in almost the same state as in 1831! Dr. Kay asserts* that not only the cellars but the first floors of all the houses in this district are damp; that a number of cellars once filled up with earth have now been emptied and are occupied once more by Irish people; that in one cellar the water constantly wells up through a hole stopped with clay, the cellar lying below the river level, so that its occupant, a hand-loom weaver, had to bale out the water from his dwelling every morning and pour it into the street!

Farther down, on the left side of the Medlock, lies Hulme, which properly speaking, is one great working-people's district, the condition of which coincides almost exactly with that of Ancoats; the more thickly built-up regions chiefly bad and approaching ruin, the less populous of more modern structure, but generally sunk in filth.^a On the other side of the Medlock, in Manchester proper, lies a second great working-men's district which stretches on both sides of Deansgate as far as the business quarter, and in certain parts rivals the Old Town. Especially in the immediate vicinity of the business quarter, between Bridge and Quay Streets, Princess and Peter Streets, the crowded construction exceeds in places the narrowest courts of the Old Town. Here are long, narrow lanes between which run contracted, crooked courts and passages, the entrances to which are so irregular that the explorer is caught in a blind alley at every few steps, or comes out where he least expects to, unless he knows every court and every alley exactly and separately. According to Dr. Kay, the most demoralised class of all Manchester lived in these ruinous and filthy districts, people whose occupations are thieving and prostitution; and, to all appearances, his assertion is still true at the present moment. When the sanitary police made its expedition hither in 1831, it found the uncleanness as great as in Little Ireland or along the Irk (that it is not much better today, I can testify); and, among other items, they found in Parliament Street for three

* Dr. Kay, loc. cit.—*Note by Engels.* (It is omitted in the English and American editions.—*Ed.*)

^a In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 the end of the sentence reads as follows: "of more modern structure, better ventilated, but generally sunk in filth". Then follows one more sentence omitted in the authorised American and English editions: "In both places the site of the cottages is damp and the type of building includes back alleys and cellar dwellings".—*Ed.*

hundred and eighty persons, and in Parliament Passage for thirty thickly populated houses, but a single privy.

If we cross the Irwell to Salford, we find on a peninsula formed by the river a town of eighty thousand inhabitants, which, properly speaking, is one large working-men's quarter, penetrated by a single wide avenue. Salford, once more important than Manchester, was then the leading town of the surrounding district to which it still gives its name, Salford Hundred. Hence it is that an old and therefore very unwholesome, dirty, and ruinous locality is to be found here, lying opposite the Old Church of Manchester, and in as bad a condition as the Old Town on the other side of the Irwell. Farther away from the river lies the newer portion, which is, however, already beyond the limit of its forty years of cottage life,^a and therefore ruinous enough. All Salford is built in courts or narrow lanes, so narrow, that they remind me of the narrowest I have ever seen, the little lanes of Genoa. The average construction of Salford is in this respect much worse than that of Manchester, and so, too, in respect to cleanliness. If, in Manchester, the police, from time to time, every six or ten years, makes a raid upon the working-people's districts, closes the worst dwellings, and causes the filthiest spots in these Augean stables to be cleansed, in Salford it seems to have done absolutely nothing. The narrow side lanes and courts of Chapel Street, Greengate, and Gravel Lane have certainly never been cleansed since they were built. Of late, the Liverpool railway has been carried through the middle of them, over a high viaduct, and has abolished many of the filthiest nooks; but what does that avail? Whoever passes over this viaduct and looks down, sees filth and wretchedness enough; and, if any one takes the trouble to pass through these lanes and glance through the open doors and windows into the houses and cellars, he can convince himself afresh with every step that the workers of Salford live in dwellings in which cleanliness and comfort are impossible. Exactly the same state of affairs is found in the more distant regions of Salford, in Islington, along Regent Road, and back of the Bolton railway. The working-men's dwellings between Oldfield Road and Cross Lane, where^b a mass of courts and alleys are to be found in the worst possible state, vie with the dwellings of the Old Town in filth and overcrowding. In this district I found a man, apparently about sixty years old, living

^a In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 the words "of cottage life" do not occur.—*Ed.*

^b The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "on both sides of Hope Street".—*Ed.*

in a cow-stable. He had constructed a sort of chimney for his square pen, which had neither windows, floor, nor ceiling, had obtained a bedstead and lived there, though the rain dripped through his rotten roof. This man was too old and weak for regular work, and supported himself by removing manure with a hand-cart; the dung-heaps lay next door to his palace!

Such are the various working-people's quarters of Manchester as I had occasion to observe them personally during twenty months. If we briefly formulate the result of our wanderings, we must admit that 350,000 working-people of Manchester and its environs live, almost all of them, in wretched, damp, filthy cottages, that the streets which surround them are usually in the most miserable and filthy condition, laid out without the slightest reference to ventilation, with reference solely to the profit secured by the contractor. In a word, we must confess that in the working-men's dwellings of Manchester, no cleanliness, no convenience, and consequently no comfortable family life is possible; that in such dwellings only a physically degenerate race, robbed of all humanity, degraded, reduced morally and physically^a to bestiality, could feel comfortable and at home. And I am not alone in making this assertion. We have seen that Dr. Kay gives precisely the same description; and, though it is superfluous, I quote further the words of a Liberal, recognised and highly valued as an authority by the manufacturers, and a fanatical opponent of all independent movements of the workers*:

"But when I went through their [i.e., the Manchester operatives'] habitations in Irish Town, and Ancoats, and Little Ireland, my only wonder was that tolerable health could be maintained by the inmates of such houses. These towns, for such they are in extent and population, have been erected by small speculators with an utter disregard to everything except immediate profit. A carpenter and a bricklayer club to buy a patch of ground [i.e., they lease it for a number of years], and cover it with what they call houses. In one place we saw a whole street following the course of a ditch, in order to have deeper cellars (cellars for people, not for lumber) without the expense of excavations. *Not a house in this street escaped cholera.*^b And generally speaking, throughout these suburbs the streets are unpaved, with a dung-hill or a pond in the middle; the houses built back to back, without ventilation or drainage; and whole families occupy a corner of a cellar or of a garret."

* Nassau W. Senior, *Letters on the Factory Act to the Rt. Hon., the President of the Board of Trade* (Chas. Poulett Thomson, Esq.), London, 1837, p. 24.—*Note by Engels.*

^a The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "intellectually" instead of "physically".—*Ed.*

^b Italics by Engels.—*Ed.*

I have already referred to the unusual activity which the sanitary police manifested during the cholera visitation. When the epidemic was approaching, a universal terror seized the bourgeoisie of the city. People remembered the unwholesome dwellings of the poor, and trembled before the certainty that each of these slums would become a centre for the plague, whence it would spread desolation in all directions through the houses of the propertied class. A Health Commission was appointed at once to investigate these districts, and report upon their condition to the Town Council. Dr. Kay, himself a member of this Commission, who visited in person every separate police district except one, the eleventh, quotes extracts from their reports: There were inspected, in all, 6,951 houses—naturally in Manchester proper alone, Salford and the other suburbs being excluded. Of these, 2,565 urgently needed whitewashing within; 960 were out of repair^a; 939 had insufficient drains; 1,435 were damp; 452 were badly ventilated; 2,221 were without privies. Of the 687 streets inspected, 248 were unpaved, 53 but partially paved, 112 ill-ventilated, 352 containing standing pools, heaps of *débris*, refuse, etc. To cleanse such an Augean stable before the arrival of the cholera was, of course, out of the question. A few of the worst nooks were therefore cleansed, and everything else left as before. In the cleansed spots, as Little Ireland proves, the old filthy condition was naturally restored in a couple of months. As to the internal condition of these houses, the same Commission reports a state of things similar to that which we have already met with in London, Edinburgh, and other cities.*

"A whole Irish family is often accommodated on a single bed, and sometimes a heap of filthy straw and a covering of old sacking hide them in one undistinguished heap, debased alike by penury, want of economy and dissolute habits. Frequently the inspectors found two families crowded into one small house, containing only two apartments, one in which they slept, and another in which they eat; and often more than one family lived in a damp cellar, containing only one room, in whose pestilential atmosphere from twelve to sixteen persons were crowded. To these fertile sources of disease were sometimes added the keeping of the pigs and other animals in the house, with other nuisances of the most revolting character."

We must add that many families, who had but one room for themselves, receive boarders and lodgers in it, that such lodgers of

* Kay, loc. cit., p. 32.—*Note by Engels.* (The word "Irish" in the quotation below was added by Engels.—*Ed.*)

^a The German editions of 1845 and 1892 give the English expression "were out of repair" in brackets.—*Ed.*

both sexes by no means rarely sleep in the same bed with the married couple; and that the single case of a man and his wife and his adult sister-in-law sleeping in one bed was found, according to the "Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population", six times repeated in Manchester. Common lodging-houses, too, are very numerous; Dr. Kay gives their number in 1831 as 267 in Manchester proper, and they must have increased greatly since then. Each of these receives from twenty to thirty guests, so that they shelter all told, nightly, from five to seven thousand human beings. The character of the houses and their guests is the same as in other cities. Five to seven beds in each room lie on the floor—without bedsteads, and on these sleep, mixed indiscriminately, as many persons as apply. What physical and moral atmosphere reigns in these holes I need not state. Each of these houses is a focus of crime, the scene of deeds against which human nature revolts, which would perhaps never have been executed but for this forced centralisation of vice. Gaskell* gives the number of persons living in cellars in Manchester proper as 20,000. The *Weekly Dispatch* gives the number, "according to official reports", as twelve per cent of the working-class, which agrees with Gaskell's number; the workers being estimated at 175,000, 21,000 would form twelve per cent of it.¹³³ The cellar dwellings in the suburbs are at least as numerous, so that the number of persons living in cellars in Manchester—using its name in the broader sense—is not less than forty to fifty thousand. So much for the dwellings of the workers in the largest cities and towns. The manner in which the need of a shelter is satisfied furnishes a standard for the manner in which all other necessities are supplied. That in these filthy holes a ragged, ill-fed population alone can dwell is a safe conclusion, and such is the fact. The clothing of the working-people, in the majority of cases, is in a

* P. Gaskell, *The Manufacturing Population of England: its Moral, Social and Physical Condition, and the Changes which have arisen from the Use of Steam Machinery; with an Examination of Infant Labour. Fiat Justitia*, 1833.—Depicting chiefly the state of the working-class in Lancashire. The author is a Liberal, but wrote at a time when it was not a feature of Liberalism to chant the happiness of the workers. He is therefore unprejudiced, and can afford to have eyes for the evils of the present state of things, and especially for the factory system. On the other hand, he wrote before the Factories Enquiry Commission, and adopts from untrustworthy sources many assertions afterwards refuted by the report of the Commission. This work, although on the whole a valuable one, can therefore only be used with discretion, especially as the author, like Kay, confuses the whole working-class with the mill-hands. The history of the development of the proletariat contained in the introduction to the present work, is chiefly taken from this work of Gaskell's.—*Note by Engels*.

very bad condition. The material used for it is not of the best adapted. Wool and linen have almost vanished from the wardrobe of both sexes, and cotton has taken their place. Shirts are made of bleached or coloured cotton goods; the dresses of the women are chiefly of cotton print goods, and woollen petticoats are rarely to be seen on the washline. The men wear chiefly trousers of fustian or other heavy cotton goods, and jackets or coats of the same. Fustian has become the proverbial costume of the working-men, who are called "fustian jackets",^a and call themselves so in contrast to the gentlemen who wear broadcloth, which latter words are used as characteristic for the middle-class. When Feargus O'Connor, the Chartist leader, came to Manchester during the insurrection of 1842,^b he appeared, amidst the deafening applause of the working-men, in a fustian suit of clothing. Hats are the universal head-covering in England, even for working-men, hats of the most diverse forms, round, high, broad-brimmed, narrow-brimmed, or without brims—only the younger men in factory towns wearing caps. Any one who does not own a hat folds himself a low, square paper cap.

The whole clothing of the working-class, even assuming it to be in good condition, is little adapted to the climate. The damp air of England, with its sudden changes of temperature, more calculated than any other to give rise to colds, obliges almost the whole middle-class to wear flannel next to the skin, about the body, and flannel scarfs and shirts are in almost universal use. Not only is the working-class deprived of this precaution, it is scarcely ever in a position to use a thread of woollen clothing; and the heavy cotton goods, though thicker, stiffer, and heavier than woollen clothes, afford much less protection against cold and wet, remain damp much longer because of their thickness and the nature of the stuff, and have nothing of the compact density of fulled woollen cloths. And, if a working-man once buys himself a woollen coat for Sunday, he must get it from one of the "cheap shops" where he finds bad, so-called "Devil's-dust"^c cloth, manufactured for sale and not for use, and liable to tear or grow threadbare in a fortnight, or he must buy of an old clothes'-dealer a half-worn coat which has seen its best days, and lasts but a few weeks.

^a In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 this expression is given in English; the word "broadcloth" is given in brackets after its German equivalent.—*Ed.*

^b See below, pp. 508, 512-14, 520-22.—*Ed.*

^c In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 this expression is given in English.—*Ed.*

Moreover, the working-man's clothing is, in most cases, in bad condition, and there is the oft-recurring necessity for placing the best pieces in the pawnbroker's shop. But among very large numbers, especially among the Irish, the prevailing clothing consists of perfect rags often beyond all mending, or so patched that the original colour can no longer be detected. Yet the English and Anglo-Irish go on patching, and have carried this art to a remarkable pitch, putting wool or bagging on fustian, or the reverse—it's all the same to them. But the true, transplanted Irish hardly ever patch except in the extremest necessity, when the garment would otherwise fall apart. Ordinarily the rags of the shirt protrude through the rents in the coat or trousers. They wear, as Thomas Carlyle says,—*

"a suit of tatters, the getting on or off which is said to be a difficult operation, transacted only in festivals and the high tides of the calendar."

The Irish have introduced, too, the custom, previously unknown in England, of going barefoot. In every manufacturing town there is now to be seen a multitude of people, especially women and children, going about barefoot, and their example is gradually being adopted by the poorer English.

As with clothing, so with food. The workers get what is too bad for the property-holding class. In the great towns of England everything may be had of the best, but it costs money; and the workman, who must keep house on a couple of pence, cannot afford much expense. Moreover, he usually receives his wages on Saturday evening, for, although a beginning has been made in the payment of wages on Friday, this excellent arrangement is by no means universal; and so he comes to market at five or even seven o'clock,^a while the buyers of the middle-class have had the first choice during the morning, when the market teems with the best of everything. But when the workers reach it, the best has vanished, and, if it was still there, they would probably not be able to buy it. The potatoes which the workers buy are usually poor, the vegetables wilted, the cheese old and of poor quality, the bacon rancid, the meat lean, tough, taken from old, often diseased, cattle, or such as have died a natural death, and not fresh even then, often half decayed. The sellers are usually small

* Thomas Carlyle, *Chartism*, London, 1840, p. 28. Concerning Thomas Carlyle see below.—*Note by Engels*. (In the American edition of 1887 and the English edition of 1892 the last phrase is omitted.—*Ed.*)

^a The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "at four, five or even seven o'clock".—*Ed.*

hucksters who buy up inferior goods, and can sell them cheaply by reason of their badness. The poorest workers are forced to use still another device to get together the things they need with their few pence. As nothing can be sold on Sunday, and all shops must be closed at twelve o'clock on Saturday night, such things as would not keep until Monday are sold at any price between ten o'clock and midnight. But nine-tenths of what is sold at ten o'clock is past using by Sunday morning, yet these are precisely the provisions which make up the Sunday dinner of the poorest class. The meat which the workers buy is very often past using; but having bought it, they must eat it. On the 6th of January, 1844 (if I am not greatly mistaken), a court leet^a was held in Manchester, when eleven meat-sellers were fined for having sold tainted meat. Each of them had a whole ox or pig, or several sheep, or from fifty to sixty pounds of meat, which were all confiscated in a tainted condition. In one case, fifty-four stuffed Christmas geese were seized which had proved unsaleable in Liverpool, and had been forwarded to Manchester, where they were brought to market foul and rotten. All the particulars, with names and fines, were published at the time in the *Manchester Guardian*.¹³⁴ In the six weeks, from July 1st to August 14th [1844], the same sheet reported three similar cases. According to the *Guardian* for July 3rd, a pig, weighing 200 pounds, which had been found dead and decayed, was cut up and exposed for sale by a butcher at Heywood, and was then seized. According to the number for July 31st, two butchers at Wigan, of whom one had previously been convicted of the same offence, were fined £2 and £4 respectively, for exposing tainted meat for sale; and, according to the number for August 10th, twenty-six tainted hams seized at a dealer's in Bolton, were publicly burnt, and the dealer fined twenty shillings. But these are by no means all the cases; they do not even form a fair average for a period of six weeks, according to which to form an average for the year. There are often seasons in which every number of the semi-weekly *Guardian* mentions a similar case found in Manchester or its vicinity. And when one reflects upon the many cases which must escape detection in the extensive markets that stretch along the front of every main street, under the slender supervision of the market inspectors—and how else can one explain the boldness with which whole animals are exposed for sale?—when one considers how great the temptation

^a In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 this English term is given in brackets.—*Ed.*

must be, in view of the incomprehensibly small fines mentioned in the foregoing cases; when one reflects what condition a piece of meat must have reached to be seized by the inspectors, it is impossible to believe that the workers obtain good and nourishing meat as a usual thing. But they are victimised in yet another way by the money-greed of the middle-class. Dealers and manufacturers adulterate all kinds of provisions in an atrocious manner, and without the slightest regard to the health of the consumers. We have heard the *Manchester Guardian* upon this subject, let us hear another organ of the middle-class—I delight in the testimony of my opponents—let us hear the *Liverpool Mercury*:

“Salt butter is moulded into the form of pounds of fresh butter, and cased over with fresh. In other instances a pound of fresh is conspicuously placed to be tasted; but that pound is not sold; and in other instances salt butter, washed, is moulded and sold as fresh.... Pounded rice and other cheap materials are mixed in sugar, and sold at full monopoly price. A chemical substance—the refuse of the soap manufactories—is also mixed with other substances and sold as sugar.... Chicory is mixed in good coffee. Chicory, or some similarly cheap substance, is skilfully moulded into the form of the coffee berry, and is mixed with the bulk very liberally.... Cocoa is extensively adulterated with fine brown earth, wrought up with mutton fat, so as to amalgamate with portions of the real article.... The leaves of tea are mingled with sloe leaves and other abominations. Used leaves are also re-dried, and re-coloured on hot copper plates, and sold as tea. Pepper is adulterated with dust from husks etc.; port wine is altogether manufactured” (from spirits, dyes, etc.) “it being notorious that more port wine is drunk in this country than is made in Portugal. Nasty things of all sorts are mixed with the weed tobacco in all its manufactured forms”.¹³⁵

I can add that several of the most respected tobacco dealers in Manchester announced publicly last summer, that, by reason of the universal adulteration of tobacco, no firm could carry on business without adulteration, and that no cigar costing less than threepence is made wholly from tobacco. These frauds are naturally not restricted to articles of food, though I could mention a dozen more, the villainy of mixing gypsum or chalk with flour among them. Fraud is practised in the sale of articles of every sort: flannel, stockings, etc., are stretched, and shrink after the first washing; narrow cloth is sold as being from one and a half to three inches broader than it actually is; stoneware is so thinly glazed that the glazing is good for nothing and cracks at once, and a hundred other rascalities, *tout comme chez nous*. But the lion's share of the evil results of these frauds falls to the workers. The rich are less deceived, because they can pay the high prices of the large shops which have a reputation to lose, and would injure themselves more than their customers if they kept poor or

adulterated wares; the rich are spoiled, too, by habitual good eating, and detect adulteration more easily with their sensitive palates. But the poor, the working-people, to whom a couple of farthings are important, who must buy many things with little money, who cannot afford to inquire too closely into the quality of their purchases, and cannot do so in any case because they have had no opportunity of cultivating their taste—to their share fall all the adulterated, poisoned provisions. They must deal with the small retailers, must buy perhaps on credit, and these small retail dealers who cannot sell even the same quality of goods so cheaply as the largest retailers, because of their small capital and the large proportional expenses of their business, must knowingly or unknowingly buy adulterated goods in order to sell at the lower prices required, and to meet the competition of the others. Further, a large retail dealer who has extensive capital invested in his business is ruined with his ruined credit if detected in a fraudulent practice; but what harm does it do a small grocer, who has customers in a single street only, if frauds are proved against him? If no one trusts him in Ancoats, he moves to Chorlton or Hulme, where no one knows him, and where he continues to defraud as before; while legal penalties attach to very few adulterations unless they involve revenue frauds. Not in the quality alone, but in the quantity of his goods as well, is the English working-man defrauded. The small dealers usually have false weights and measures, and an incredible number of convictions for such offences may be read in the police reports. How universal this form of fraud is in the manufacturing districts, a couple of extracts from the *Manchester Guardian* may serve to show. They cover only a short period, and, even here, I have not all the numbers at hand:

Guardian, June 15, 1844, Rochdale Sessions.—Four dealers fined five to ten shillings for using light weights. Stockport Sessions.—Two dealers fined one shilling, one of them having seven light weights and a false scale, and both having been warned.

Guardian, June 19, Rochdale Sessions.—One dealer fined five, and two farmers ten shillings.

Guardian, June 22, Manchester Justices of the Peace.—Nineteen dealers fined two shillings and sixpence to two pounds.

Guardian, June 26, Ashton Sessions.—Fourteen dealers and farmers fined two shillings and sixpence to one pound. Hyde Petty Sessions.—Nine farmers and dealers condemned to pay costs and five shillings fines.

Guardian, July 6, Manchester.—Sixteen dealers condemned to pay costs and fines not exceeding ten shillings.

Guardian, July 13, Manchester.—Nine dealers fined from two shillings and sixpence to twenty shillings.

Guardian, July 24, Rochdale.—Four dealers fined ten to twenty shillings.

Guardian, July 27, Bolton.—Twelve dealers and innkeepers condemned to pay costs.

Guardian, August 3, Bolton.—Three dealers fined two shillings and sixpence, and five shillings.

Guardian, August 10, Bolton.—One dealer fined five shillings.

And the same causes which make the working-class the chief sufferers from frauds in the quality of goods make them the usual victims of frauds in the question of quantity too.

The habitual food of the individual working-man naturally varies according to his wages. The better-paid workers, especially those in whose families every member is able to earn something, have good food as long as this state of things lasts; meat daily and bacon and cheese for supper. Where wages are less, meat is used only two or three times a week,^a and the proportion of bread and potatoes increases. Descending gradually, we find the animal food reduced to a small piece of bacon cut up with the potatoes; lower still, even this disappears, and there remain only bread, cheese, porridge, and potatoes, until on the lowest round of the ladder, among the Irish, potatoes form the sole food. As an accompaniment, weak tea, with perhaps a little sugar, milk, or spirits, is universally drunk. Tea is regarded in England, and even in Ireland, as quite as indispensable as coffee in Germany, and where no tea is used, the bitterest poverty reigns. But all this presupposes that the workman has work. When he has none, he is wholly at the mercy of accident, and eats what is given him, what he can beg or steal. And, if he gets nothing, he simply starves, as we have seen. The quantity of food varies, of course, like its quality, according to the rate of wages, so that among ill-paid workers, even if they have no large families,^b hunger prevails in spite of full and regular work; and the number of the ill-paid is very large. Especially in London, where the competition of the workers rises with the increase of population, this class is very numerous, but it is to be found in other towns as well. In these cases all sorts of devices are

^a The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "on Sundays or two or three times a week".—*Ed.*

^b The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "especially if they have large families".—*Ed.*

used; potato parings, vegetable refuse, and rotten vegetables* are eaten for want of other food, and everything greedily gathered up which may possibly contain an atom of nourishment. And, if the week's wages are used up before the end of the week, it often enough happens that in the closing days the family gets only as much food, if any, as is barely sufficient to keep off starvation. Of course such a way of living unavoidably engenders a multitude of diseases, and when these appear, when the father from whose work the family is chiefly supported, whose physical exertion most demands nourishment, and who therefore first succumbs—when the father is utterly disabled, then misery reaches its height, and then the brutality with which society abandons its members, just when their need is greatest, comes out fully into the light of day.

To sum up briefly the facts thus far cited. The great towns are chiefly inhabited by working-people, since in the best case there is one bourgeois for two workers, often for three, here and there for four; these workers have no property whatsoever of their own, and live wholly upon wages, which usually go from hand to mouth. Society, composed wholly of atoms, does not trouble itself about them; leaves them to care for themselves and their families, yet supplies them no means of doing this in an efficient and permanent manner. Every working-man, even the best, is therefore constantly exposed to loss of work and food, that is to death by starvation, and many perish in this way. The dwellings of the workers are everywhere badly planned, badly built, and kept in the worst condition, badly ventilated, damp, and unwholesome. The inhabitants are confined to the smallest possible space, and at least one family usually sleeps in each room. The interior arrangement of the dwellings is poverty-stricken in various degrees, down to the utter absence of even the most necessary furniture. The clothing of the workers, too, is generally scanty, and that of great multitudes is in rags. The food is, in general, bad; often almost unfit for use, and in many cases, at least at times, insufficient in quantity, so that, in extreme cases, death by starvation results. Thus the working-class of the great cities offers a graduated scale of conditions in life, in the best cases a temporarily endurable existence for hard work and good wages,^a

* *Weekly Dispatch*, April or May, 1844, according to a report by Dr. Southwood Smith on the condition of the poor in London.—*Note by Engels*. (In the American edition of 1887 and in the English edition of 1892 this note is omitted.—*Ed.*)

^a The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here "good housing and generally good food".—*Ed.*

good and endurable, that is, from the worker's standpoint; in the worst cases, bitter want, reaching even homelessness and death by starvation. The average is much nearer the worst case than the best. And this series does not fall into fixed classes, so that one can say, this fraction of the working-class is well off,^a has always been so, and remains so. If that is the case here and there, if single branches of work have in general an advantage over others, yet the condition of the workers in each branch is subject to such great fluctuations that a single working-man may be so placed as to pass through the whole range from comparative comfort to the extremest need, even to death by starvation, while almost every English working-man can tell a tale of marked changes of fortune. Let us examine the causes of this somewhat more closely.

^a The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have "and that fraction is badly off".—*Ed.*

COMPETITION

We have seen in the introduction how competition created the proletariat at the very beginning of the industrial movement by increasing the wages of weavers in consequence of the increased demand for woven goods, so inducing the weaving peasants to abandon their farms and earn more money by devoting themselves to their looms. We have seen how it crowded out the small farmers by means of the large farm system, reduced them to the rank of proletarians, and attracted them in part into the towns; how it further ruined the small bourgeoisie in great measure and reduced its members also to the ranks of the proletariat; how it centralised capital in the hands of the few, and population in the great towns. Such are the various ways and means by which competition, as it reached its full manifestation and free development in modern industry, created and extended the proletariat. We shall now have to observe its influence on the working-class already created. And here we must begin by tracing the results of competition of single workers with one another.

Competition is the completest expression of the battle of all against all which rules in modern civil society. This battle, a battle for life, for existence, for everything, in case of need a battle of life and death, is fought not between the different classes of society only, but also between the individual members of these classes. Each is in the way of the other, and each seeks to crowd out all who are in his way, and to put himself in their place. The workers are in constant competition among themselves as the members of the bourgeoisie among themselves. The power-loom weaver is in competition with the hand-loom weaver, the unem-

ployed or ill-paid hand-loom weaver with him who has work or is better paid, each trying to supplant the other. But this competition of the workers among themselves is the worst side of the present state of things in its effect upon the worker, the sharpest weapon against the proletariat in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Hence the effort of the workers to nullify this competition by associations, hence the hatred of the bourgeoisie towards these associations, and its triumph in every defeat which befalls them.

The proletarian is helpless; left to himself, he cannot live a single day. The bourgeoisie has gained a monopoly of all means of existence in the broadest sense of the word. What the proletarian needs, he can obtain only from this bourgeoisie, which is protected in its monopoly by the power of the state. The proletarian is, therefore, in law and in fact, the slave of the bourgeoisie, which can decree his life or death. It offers him the means of living, but only for an "equivalent", for his work. It even lets him have the appearance of acting from a free choice, of making a contract with free, unconstrained consent, as "a responsible agent who has attained his majority.

Fine freedom, where the proletarian has no other choice than that of either accepting the conditions which the bourgeoisie offers him, or of starving, of freezing to death, of sleeping naked among the beasts of the forests! A fine "equivalent" valued at pleasure by the bourgeoisie! And if one proletarian is such a fool as to starve rather than agree to the "equitable" propositions of the bourgeoisie, his "natural superiors",* another is easily found in his place; there are proletarians enough in the world, and not all so insane as to prefer dying to living.

Here we have the competition of the workers among themselves. If *all* the proletarians announced their determination to starve rather than work for the bourgeoisie, the latter would have to surrender its monopoly. But this is not the case—is, indeed, a rather impossible case—so that the bourgeoisie still thrives. To this competition of the workers there is but one limit; no worker will work for less than he needs to subsist. If he must starve, he will prefer to starve in idleness rather than in toil. True, this limit is relative; one needs more than another, one is accustomed to more comfort than another; the Englishman, who is still somewhat civilised, needs more than the Irishman, who goes in rags, eats

* A favourite expression of the English manufacturers.—*Note by Engels.* (In the American edition of 1887 and the English edition of 1892 this note is omitted.—*Ed.*)